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M. S. G. Woodside

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ

Ε

THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

THUCYDIDES

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THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

THUCYDIDES

EDITED WITH NOTES

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PREFACE

I owe my long-suffering publishers many apologies for the tardy appearance of this book, which was begun some years ago. It is planned on the same lines as my edition of Book IV, and is mainly indebted to the same authorities. There is however somewhat less translation given in the notes, and more discussion of the text. On this point I have felt much difficulty and hesitation. The fifth Book is generally free from great grammatical difficulties, but it presents perpetual questions of unsatisfactory reading, and almost more than any other calls for the hand of a master critic. An editor has indeed his choice of suggestions in plenty, but the choice is mostly far from tempting. And unless his confidence is grounded on great experience he would do well to keep Quintilian's words before him: 'quaedam in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent et, dum libra-

riorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur.' In points of proposed emendation I have found welcome assistance from Mr Harold N. Fowler's edition (Boston 1888). It is founded on Classen, but gives besides much recent German criticism. Notes due exclusively to Mr Fowler are marked F. I have also to thank Mr A. W. Spratt, of St Catharine's College, for thorough revision of the proof-sheets and for many valuable suggestions. The grammatical work chiefly referred to is the latest edition of Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses.* Some references to the sections of the earlier edition may have escaped notice, but I have tried to alter the plates throughout.

St John's College, Cambridge,
August, 1891.

INTRODUCTION

In the year 424 two great blows fell upon Athens. An enterprise against Boeotia met with complete failure, ending in a disastrous defeat near Oropus. Besides this a large part of the Thrace-ward possessions fell into the hands of Brasidas, and especially Amphipolis the key of Thrace. Thus Athens was disposed to listen to terms, and as Sparta was above all anxious to recover the captives from Sphacteria, a truce for one year was concluded in 423.

The fifth Book begins with the expiration of this truce, when an expedition was made, urged by Cleon, in the hope of regaining Athenian ascendancy in Thrace. Exhausted as she must have been, Athens was able to despatch a strong force of chosen citizens, with the flower of the allies. But being, from party-intrigue or whatever cause, under the sole conduct of Cleon, the army was foredoomed to ruin. It did indeed recapture Torone, but was shattered and dispersed in the fatal battle of Amphipolis. These events occupy the first thirteen chapters of the Book, and with them concludes the first period of the war. So far, or some few chapters further, the history seems to have been completed, and to have received its final revision, after the Peloponnesian war was over.

This revision was not given to the bulk of the records in the rest of our fifth Book. Critics at any rate find them lacking in the finish which marks the first decade and the subsequent account of events in Sicily. Passages there undoubtedly are which prove a late date of composition[1], while others appear rather to embody the notes of a contemporary observer. Thus we have minuteness of detail on the one hand; and on the other harshness of language, unusual words and phrases, repetitions, corrections, and possibly interpolations. Dramatic effect is lost, because the point of view is too near the scene. Still we have no doubt in the main the history which Thucydides intended to give of the intervening time of hollow peace before the invasion of Sicily. Though full, it is monotonous and dull; a list of intrigues and counter-intrigues, state plotting against state, oligarchy and democracy threatening and countermining turn by turn. Fear and jealousy of Sparta lead to a confederacy in the Argive interest. There is however no energetic policy in Athens or in the states of Peloponnesus; and but little of personal interest, now that the chivalrous figure of Brasidas and the coarse but vigorous personality of Cleon have passed away. 'The baleful star of Alcibiades' does indeed appear above the horizon, but there is scarcely a name besides that we remember but that of the honest, blundering Agis. Nor does the historian introduce a single speech from the tenth to the end of the fourteenth year.

In 418 the Argive league was crushed at Mantinea, and Sparta regained by the signal valour of her soldiers her position of military supremacy. The description of the battle is vivid and exact, and seems to have received the writer's final touch. No less elaborate is the 'Melian dialogue,' which takes up the closing chapters of the Book. It is a kind of historical drama, in which the Athenian

[1] See ch. 26.

actors represent without disguise the cynical contempt for right which Thucydides repeatedly attributes to Athenian policy. Melos was a Dorian colony, which had been throughout independent of Athens, though taking no part against her. The Athenians make no profession of disregarded claims or injuries which called for vengeance. No law divine or human has any power to hold them back; justice, equity and mercy are but idle words. They simply parade their overpowering strength, and offer the choice of surrender or destruction. In the display of their arrogance and impiety, their reckless greed and lawless confidence, we have a fitting prologue to the tragedy of Syracuse.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Ε

B.C. 422. Termination of the truce. Removal of the inhabitants of Delos.

1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι σπονδαὶ διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι Δηλίους ἀνέστησαν ἐκ Δήλου, ἡγησάμενοι κατὰ παλαιάν τινα αἰτίαν οὐ καθαροὺς ὄντας
2 ἱερῶσθαι, καὶ ἅμα ἐλλιπὲς σφίσιν εἶναι τοῦτο τῆς καθάρσεως ᾗ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται ὡς ἀνελόντες τὰς θήκας τῶν τεθνεώτων ὀρθῶς ἐνόμισαν ποιῆσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δήλιοι Ἀτραμύττιον Φαρνάκου δόντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ᾤκησαν, οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο.

Expedition of Cleon to the Thraceward districts.

2 Κλέων δὲ Ἀθηναίους πείσας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὁπλίτας ἔχων διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων πλείους, ναῦς δὲ τριάκοντα. σχὼν δὲ ἐς Σκιώνην πρῶτον ἔτι πολιορκουμένην καὶ προσλαβὼν αὐτόθεν ὁπλίτας τῶν φρουρῶν κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν [1] Κωφὸν λιμένα τῶν Τορωναίων
2 ἀπέχοντα οὐ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως. ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσ-

[1] Κολοφωνίων

θόμενος ὑπ' αὐτομόλων ὅτι οὔτε Βρασίδας ἐν τῇ Τορώνῃ οὔτε οἱ ἐνόντες ἀξιόμαχοι εἶεν, τῇ μὲν στρατιᾷ [1] τῇ πεζῇ ἐχώρει ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ναῦς δὲ περιέπεμψε δέκα ἐς τὸν λιμένα περιπλεῖν. καὶ πρὸς τὸ περιτείχισμα πρῶτον ἀφικνεῖται, ὃ προσπεριέβαλε τῇ πόλει ὁ Βρασίδας, ἐντὸς βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ προάστειον, καὶ διελὼν τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους
3 μίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε πόλιν. βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἐς

He recovers Torone.

αὐτὸ Πασιτελίδας τε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων καὶ ἡ παροῦσα φυλακὴ προσβαλόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἠμύνοντο. καὶ ὡς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα περιέπλεον [2] αἱ ἐς τὸν λιμένα περιπεμφθεῖσαι, δείσας ὁ Πασιτελίδας μὴ αἵ τε νῆες φθάσωσι λαβοῦσαι ἐρῆμον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῦ τειχίσματος ἁλισκομένου ἐγκαταληφθῇ, ἀπολιπὼν
2 αὐτὸ δρόμῳ ἐχώρει ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι φθάνουσιν οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἑλόντες τὴν Τορώνην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἐπισπόμενος αὐτοβοεὶ κατὰ τὸ διῃρημένον τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους ξυνεσπεσών. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Τορωναίων εὐθὺς ἐν χερσί, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον καὶ
3 Πασιτελίδαν τὸν ἄρχοντα. Βρασίδας δὲ ἐβοήθει μὲν τῇ Τορώνῃ, αἰσθόμενος δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν ἑαλωκυῖαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀποσχὼν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους μὴ φθάσαι ἐλθών. ὁ δὲ Κλέων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖά τε ἔστησαν δύο, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τειχίσματι, καὶ τῶν Τορωναίων γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας ἠνδραπόδισαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος Χαλκιδέων ἦν, ξύμπαντας ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, ἀπέπεμ-

[1] – τῇ [2] – αἱ

4 ψαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν Πελοποννήσιον ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς γενομέναις σπονδαῖς ἀπῆλθεν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἐκομίσθη ὑπ' Ὀλυνθίων, ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς λυθείς. εἷλον δὲ καὶ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναίων ἐν μεθορίοις τεῖχος Βοιωτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον προδοσίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων φυλακὴν καταστησάμενος τῆς Τορώνης ἄρας περιέπλει τὸν Ἄθων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν.

4 Φαίαξ δὲ ὁ Ἐρασιστράτου τρίτος αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίων πεμπόντων ναυσὶ δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέπλευσεν. Λεοντῖνοι γάρ, ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν, πολίτας τε ἐπεγράψαντο πολλοὺς καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὴν γῆν

2 ἐπενόει ἀναδάσασθαι. οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ αἰσθόμενοι Συρακοσίους τε ἐπάγονται καὶ ἐκβάλλουσι τὸν δῆμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπλανήθησαν ὡς ἕκαστοι, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ ὁμολογήσαντες Συρακοσίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ ἐρημώσαντες Συρακούσας

3 ἐπὶ πολιτείᾳ ᾤκησαν. καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν αὐτῶν τινες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν Φωκαίας τε τῆς πόλεώς τι τῆς Λεοντίνων χωρίον καλούμενον καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ Βρικιννίας, ὂν ἔρυμα ἐν τῇ Λεοντίνῃ. καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου τότε ἐκπεσόντων οἱ πολλοὶ ἦλθον ὡς αὐτοὺς

4 καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπολέμουν. ἃ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Φαίακα πέμπουσιν, εἴ πως πείσαντες τοὺς σφίσιν ὄντας αὐτόθι ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἢν δύνωνται, Σικελιώτας κοινῇ, ὡς Συρακοσίων δύναμιν περιποιουμένων

Athenian embassy to Italy and Sicily.

ἐπιστρατεῦσαι, διασώσειαν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Λεοντίνων. 5 ὁ δὲ Φαίαξ ἀφικόμενος τοὺς μὲν Καμαριναίους πείθει καὶ Ἀκραγαντίνους, ἐν δὲ Γέλᾳ ἀντιστάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔρχεται, αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἂν πείθειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν ἐς Κατάνην, καὶ ἅμα ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ καὶ ἐς τὰς Βρικιννίας ἐλθὼν καὶ παραθαρσύνας, ἀπέπλει.

5 ἐν δὲ τῇ παρακομιδῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀναχωρήσει καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τισὶ πόλεσιν ἐχρημάτισε περὶ φιλίας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ Λοκρῶν ἐντυγχάνει τοῖς ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐποίκοις ἐκπεπτωκόσιν, οἳ μετὰ τὴν Σικελιωτῶν ὁμολογίαν στασιασάντων Μεσσηνίων καὶ ἐπαγαγομένων τῶν ἑτέρων Λοκροὺς ἔποικοι ἐξεπέμφθησαν καὶ ἐγένετο Μεσσήνη Λοκρῶν τινὰ χρόνον. 2 τούτοις οὖν ὁ Φαίαξ ἐντυχὼν[1] κομιζομένοις οὐκ ἠδίκησεν· ἐγεγένητο γὰρ τοῖς Λοκροῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμολογία ξυμβάσεως πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅτε Σικελιῶται ξυνηλλάσσοντο, οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο Ἀθηναίοις, οὐδ' ἂν τότε, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὺς κατεῖχεν ὁ πρὸς Ἰτωνέας καὶ Μελαίους πόλεμος, ὁμόρους τε ὄντας καὶ ἀποίκους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαίαξ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἀφίκετο.

6 Ὁ δὲ Κλέων, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Τορώνης τότε περιέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὁρμώμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἠιόνος Σταγείρῳ μὲν προσβάλλει Ἀνδρίων ἀποικίᾳ καὶ οὐχ εἷλεν, Γαληψὸν δὲ τὴν Θασίων ἀποικίαν λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος. 2 καὶ πέμψας ὡς Περδίκκαν πρέσβεις, ὅπως παραγένοιτο

Cleon advances against Amphipolis.

[1] τοῖς

στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, καὶ ἐς τὴν Θρᾴκην
ἄλλους παρὰ Πολλῆν τὸν Ὀδομάντων βασιλέα,
ἄξοντα μισθοῦ Θρᾷκας ὡς πλείστους, αὐτὸς ἡσύ-
3 χαζε περιμένων ἐν τῇ Ἠιόνι. Βρασίδας δὲ πυνθα-
νόμενος ταῦτα ἀντεκάθητο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ
Κερδυλίῳ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο Ἀργιλίων ἐπὶ
μετεώρου πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον τῆς
Ἀμφιπόλεως, καὶ κατεφαίνετο πάντα αὐτόθεν,
ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν αὐτόθεν ὁρμώμενος ὁ Κλέων
τῷ στρατῷ· ὅπερ προσεδέχετο ποιήσειν αὐτόν,
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν τὸ πλῆθος,
4 τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾷ ἀναβήσεσθαι. ἅμα δὲ καὶ
παρεσκευάζετο Θρᾷκάς τε μισθωτοὺς πεντακοσίους
καὶ χιλίους καὶ τοὺς Ἠδῶνας πάντας παρακαλῶν,
πελταστὰς καὶ ἱππέας· καὶ Μυρκινίων καὶ Χαλ-
κιδέων χιλίους πελταστὰς εἶχε πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ἀμφι-
πόλει. τὸ δ' ὁπλιτικὸν ξύμπαν ἠθροίσθη δισ-
χίλιοι μάλιστα καὶ ἱππῆς Ἕλληνες τριακόσιοι.
τούτων Βρασίδας μὲν ἔχων ἐπὶ Κερδυλίῳ ἐκάθητο
ἐς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐν Ἀμφι-
7 πόλει μετὰ Κλεαρίδου ἐτετάχατο. ὁ δὲ Κλέων
τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἔπειτα ἠναγκάσθη
ποιῆσαι ὅπερ ὁ Βρασίδας προσεδέχετο.
τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἀχθομένων μὲν τῇ
ἕδρᾳ, ἀναλογιζομένων δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου ἡγεμονίαν
πρὸς οἵαν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τόλμαν μετὰ οἵας ἀνεπισ-
τημοσύνης καὶ μαλακίας γενήσοιτο, καὶ οἴκοθεν ὡς
ἄκοντες αὐτῷ ξυνῆλθον, αἰσθόμενος τὸν θροῦν, καὶ
οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθη-
2 μένους βαρύνεσθαι, ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν. καὶ ἐχρήσατο

He takes up a position outside the walls.

τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧπερ καὶ ἐς τὴν Πύλον εὐτυχήσας
ἐπίστευσέ τι φρονεῖν· ἐς μάχην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ
ἤλπισέν οἱ ἐπεξιέναι οὐδένα, κατὰ θέαν δὲ μᾶλλον
ἔφη ἀναβαίνειν τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ τὴν μείζω παρασ-
κευὴν περιέμενεν, οὐχ ὡς τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἢν ἀναγ-
κάζηται, περισχήσων, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς κύκλῳ περιστὰς
3 βίᾳ αἱρήσων τὴν πόλιν. ἐλθών τε καὶ καθίσας
ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ πρὸ τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως τὸν
στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐθεᾶτο τὸ λιμνῶδες τοῦ Στρυμόνος
καὶ τὴν θέσιν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ ὡς ἔχοι.
ἀπιέναι τε ἐνόμιζεν, ὁπόταν βούληται, ἀμαχεί·
καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὐδεὶς
οὔτε κατὰ πύλας ἐξῄει, κεκλῃμέναι τε ἦσαν πᾶσαι.
ὥστε καὶ μηχανὰς ὅτι οὐ κατῆλθεν ἔχων, ἁμαρτεῖν
ἐδόκει· ἑλεῖν γὰρ ἂν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ ἐρῆμον.

Brasidas enters Amphipolis and prepares to attack Cleon.

8 ὁ δὲ Βρασίδας εὐθὺς ὡς εἶδε κινουμένους
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καταβὰς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ
τοῦ Κερδυλίου ἐσέρχεται ἐς τὴν Ἀμφί-
πολιν. καὶ ἐπέξοδον μὲν καὶ ἀντίταξιν οὐκ ἐποιή-
σατο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, δεδιὼς τὴν αὑτοῦ παρα-
σκευὴν καὶ νομίζων ὑποδεεστέρους εἶναι, οὐ τῷ
πλήθει, ἀντίπαλα γάρ πως ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀξιώματι—
2 τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἐστράτευε καθαρὸν ἐξῆλθε
καὶ Λημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίων τὸ κράτιστον—τέχνῃ δὲ
παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιθησόμενος. εἰ γὰρ δείξειε τοῖς
ἐναντίοις τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὅπλισιν ἀναγκαίαν
οὖσαν τῶν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖτο μᾶλλον περι-
γενέσθαι ἢ ἄνευ προόψεώς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ
3 τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσεως. ἀπολεξάμενος οὖν
αὐτὸς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς

ἄλλους Κλεαρίδᾳ προστάξας ἐβουλεύετο ἐπιχειρεῖν αἰφνιδίως, πρὶν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἂν νομίζων αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἀπολαβεῖν αὖθις μεμονωμένους, εἰ τύχοι ἐλθοῦσα αὐτοῖς ἡ βοήθεια. ξυγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας καὶ βουλόμενος παραθαρσῦναί τε καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν φράσαι ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

Speech of Brasidas to his men.

9 Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, ἀπὸ μὲν οἵας χώρας ἥκομεν, ὅτι ἀεὶ διὰ τὸ εὔψυχον ἐλευθέρας, καὶ ὅτι Δωριῆς μέλλετε Ἴωσι μάχεσθαι, ὧν εἰώθατε κρείσσους εἶναι, ἀρκείτω βραχέως δεδηλωμένον· τὴν δὲ ἐπιχείρησιν ᾧ τρόπῳ διανοοῦμαι ποιεῖσθαι διδάξω, ἵνα μὴ τό τε κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ μὴ ἅπαντας κινδυνεύειν ἐνδεὲς φαινόμενον ἀτολμίαν 2 παράσχῃ. τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους εἰκάζω, καταφρονήσει τε ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντας ὡς ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι τις αὐτοῖς ἐς μάχην, ἀναβῆναί τε πρὸς τὸ χωρίον καὶ νῦν ἀτάκτως κατὰ θέαν τετραμμένους 3 ὀλιγωρεῖν. ὅστις δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἐναντίων κάλλιστα ἰδὼν καὶ ἅμα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖται μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς μᾶλλον καὶ ἀντιπαραταχθέντος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ξυμφέροντος, πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο· καὶ τὰ κλέμματα ταῦτα καλλίστην δόξαν ἔχει ἃ τὸν πολέμιον μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἀπατήσας τοὺς 4 φίλους μέγιστ' ἂν ὠφελήσειεν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι ἀπαράσκευοι θαρσοῦσι καὶ τοῦ ὑπαπιέναι πλέον ἢ τοῦ μένοντος, ἐξ ὧν ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης καὶ πρὶν ξυνταχθῆναι μᾶλλον τὴν δόξαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔχων

τοὺς μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φθάσας, ἢν δύνωμαι, προσ-
5 πεσοῦμαι δρόμῳ κατὰ μέσον τὸ στράτευμα· σὺ
δέ, Κλεαρίδα, ὕστερον, ὅταν ἐμὲ ὁρᾷς ἤδη προσκεί-
μενον καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς φοβοῦντα αὐτούς, τοὺς
μετὰ σεαυτοῦ, τούς τ' Ἀμφιπολίτας καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ξυμμάχους ἄγων, αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας
ἀνοίξας ἐπεκθεῖν καὶ ἐπείγεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ξυμ-
μῖξαι. ἐλπὶς γὰρ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς οὕτω φοβηθῆ-
ναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιὸν ὕστερον δεινότερον τοῖς πολεμίοις
6 τοῦ παρόντος καὶ μαχομένου. καὶ αὐτός τε ἀνὴρ
ἀγαθὸς γίγνου, ὥσπερ σε εἰκὸς ὄντα Σπαρτιάτην,
καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, ἀκολουθήσατε ἀν-
δρείως, καὶ νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ
ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πεί-
7 θεσθαι, καὶ τῇδε ὑμῖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἀγαθοῖς γενο-
μένοις ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων
ξυμμάχοις κεκλῆσθαι, ἢ Ἀθηναίων τε δούλοις, ἢν
τὰ ἄριστα ἄνευ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἢ θανατώσεως
πράξητε, καὶ δουλείαν χαλεπωτέραν ἢ πρὶν εἴχετε,
τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἕλλησι κωλυταῖς γενέσθαι ἐλευ-
θερώσεως. ἀλλὰ μήτε ὑμεῖς μαλακισθῆτε, ὁρῶντες
περὶ ὅσων ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν, ἐγώ τε δείξω οὐ παραι-
νέσαι οἷός τε ὢν μᾶλλον τοῖς πέλας ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἔργῳ ἐπεξελθεῖν.

10 Ὁ μὲν Βρασίδας τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τήν τε ἔξοδον παρεσκευάζετο αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδα καθίστη ἐπὶ τὰς Θρᾳκίας καλουμένας τῶν πυλῶν, ὅπως ὥσπερ
2 εἴρητο ἐπεξίοιεν. τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι, φανεροῦ γενομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου καταβάν-

Battle of Amphipolis. Defeat of the Athenians. Death of Brasidas and Cleon.

τος καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπιφανεῖ οὔσῃ ἔξωθεν, περὶ τὸ
ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς θυομένου καὶ ταῦτα πράσσοντος,
ἀγγέλλεται, προὐκεχωρήκει γὰρ τότε κατὰ τὴν
θέαν, ὅτι ἥ τε στρατιὰ ἅπασα φανερὰ τῶν πολε-
μίων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας ἵππων τε
πόδες πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐξιόντων ὑποφαί-
3 νονται. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐπῆλθεν· καὶ ὡς εἶδεν, οὐ
βουλόμενος μάχῃ διαγωνίσασθαι πρίν οἱ καὶ τοὺς
βοηθοὺς ἥκειν, καὶ οἰόμενος φθήσεσθαι ἀπελθών,
σημαίνειν τε ἅμα ἐκέλευεν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ παρήγ-
γειλε τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, ὥσπερ
4 μόνον οἷόν τ' ἦν, ὑπάγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἠιόνος. ὡς δ'
αὐτῷ ἐδόκει [1]σχολὴ γίγνεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας
τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δοὺς
ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν. κἀν τούτῳ Βρασίδας, ὡς ὁρᾷ
τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κινού-
μενον, λέγει τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις,
5 ὅτι οἱ ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς οὐ μένουσι, δῆλοι δὲ τῶν τε
δοράτων τῇ κινήσει καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν· οἷς γὰρ
ἂν τοῦτο γίγνηται οὐκ εἰώθασι μένειν τοὺς ἐπιόν-
τας. ἀλλὰ τάς τε πύλας τις ἀνοιγέτω ἐμοὶ ἃς
εἴρηται καὶ ἐπεξίωμεν ὡς τάχιστα θαρσοῦντες.
6 καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας καὶ
τὰς πρώτας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους τότε ὄντος ἐξελθὼν
ἔθει δρόμῳ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην εὐθεῖαν ᾗπερ νῦν κατὰ
τὸ καρτερώτατον τοῦ χωρίου ἰόντι τροπαῖον ἕστη-
κεν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, πεφοβημένοις
τε ἅμα τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀταξίᾳ καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ
ἐκπεπληγμένοις, κατὰ μέσον τὸ στράτευμα τρέπει.
7 καὶ ὁ Κλεαρίδας, ὥσπερ εἴρητο, ἅμα κατὰ τὰς

[1] σχολῇ

Θρᾳκίας πύλας ἐπεξελθὼν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεφέρετο.
ξυνέβη τε τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἀμφοτέρωθεν
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους θορυβηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον
κέρας αὐτῶν, τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἠιόνα, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ
8 προκεχωρήκει, εὐθὺς ἀπορραγὲν ἔφυγεν· καὶ ὁ
Βρασίδας ὑποχωροῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐπιπαριὼν τῷ
δεξιῷ τιτρώσκεται, καὶ πεσόντα αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ἀθη-
ναῖοι οὐκ αἰσθάνονται, οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἄραντες
ἀπήνεγκαν. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔμενε
μᾶλλον, καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διε-
νοεῖτο μένειν, εὐθὺς φεύγων καὶ καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ
9 Μυρκινίου πελταστοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ
ξυστραφέντες ὁπλῖται ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον τόν τε Κλεα-
ρίδαν ἠμύνοντο καὶ δὶς ἢ τρὶς προσβαλόντα, καὶ οὐ
πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν ἥ τε Μυρκινία καὶ ἡ Χαλ-
κιδικὴ ἵππος καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιστάντες καὶ
10 ἐσακοντίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψαν. οὕτω δὲ τὸ στρά-
τευμα πᾶν ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυγὸν χαλεπῶς
καὶ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς τραπόμενοι κατὰ ὄρη, ὅσοι μὴ
διεφθάρησαν ἢ αὐτίκα ἐν χερσὶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς Χαλ-
κιδικῆς ἵππου καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, οἱ λοιποὶ
11 ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὴν Ἠιόνα. οἱ δὲ τὸν Βρασίδαν
ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ διασώσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν
ἔτι ἔμπνουν ἐσεκόμισαν· καὶ ᾔσθετο μὲν ὅτι
νικῶσιν οἱ μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ πολὺ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἐτε-
λεύτησεν. καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ ἀναχωρήσασα
μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδου ἐκ τῆς διώξεως νεκρούς τε
11 ἐσκύλευσε καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
τὸν Βρασίδαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι πάντες ξὺν ὅπλοις
ἐπισπόμενοι δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς

Burial of Brasidas. The defeated Athenians return home.

νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὔσης· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολῖται, περιέρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὡς ἥρωΐ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν
2 ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν, καταβαλόντες τὰ Ἁγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἴ τι μνημόσυνόν που ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως περιέσεσθαι, νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτῆρά τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἅμα τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχίαν φόβῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεραπεύοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἅγνωνα κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυμφόρως οὐδ'
3 ἂν ἡδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν. καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέδοσαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν περὶ ἑξακοσίους, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἑπτά, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀπὸ δὲ τοιαύτης ξυντυχίας καὶ προεκφοβήσεως τὴν μάχην μᾶλλον γενέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οἱ μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κλεαρίδου τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καθίσταντο.

12 Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ῥαμφίας καὶ Αὐτοχαρίδας καὶ Ἐπικυδίδας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία βοήθειαν ἦγον ἐνακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Τραχῖνι καθίσταντο ὅ τι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν. ἐνδιατριβόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτυχεν ἡ μάχη αὕτη γενομένη, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

Reinforcements sent out to Brasidas.

13 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος εὐθὺς μέχρι μὲν Πιερίου τῆς Θεσσαλίας διῆλθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ῥαμ-

φίαν, κωλυόντων δὲ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ ἅμα
Βρασίδου τεθνεῶτος, ᾧπερ ἦγον τὴν στρα-
τιάν, ἀπετράποντο ἐπ' οἴκου, νομίσαντες
οὐδένα καιρὸν εἶναι ἔτι, τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων ἥσσῃ
ἀπεληλυθότων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων αὐτῶν ὄντων
δρᾶν τι ὧν κἀκεῖνος ἐπενόει. μάλιστα δὲ ἀπῆλθον
εἰδότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτε ἐξῄεσαν, πρὸς τὴν
14 εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας. ξυνέβη τε
εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μάχην καὶ
τὴν Ῥαμφίου ἀναχώρησιν ἐκ Θεσσα-
λίας, ὥστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἅψασ-
θαι μηδετέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν
γνώμην εἶχον, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι πληγέντες ἐπὶ τῷ
Δηλίῳ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου αὖθις ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, καὶ
οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης πιστὴν ἔτι,
ᾗπερ οὐ προσεδέχοντο πρότερον τὰς σπονδάς,
δοκοῦντες τῇ παρούσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ καθυπέρτεροι γενή-
σεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἅμα ἐδεδίεσαν σφῶν,
μὴ διὰ τὰ σφάλματα ἐπαιρόμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποσ-
τῶσιν, μετεμέλοντό τε ὅτι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πύλῳ καλῶς
2 παρασχὸν οὐ ξυνέβησαν· οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
παρὰ γνώμην μὲν ἀποβαίνοντος σφίσι τοῦ πολέ-
μου, ἐν ᾧ ᾤοντο ὀλίγων ἐτῶν καθαιρήσειν τὴν τῶν
Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν, εἰ τὴν γῆν τέμνοιεν, περιπε-
σόντες δὲ τῇ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ξυμφορᾷ, οἵα οὔπω
γεγένητο τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ λῃστευομένης τῆς χώρας
ἐκ τῆς Πύλου καὶ Κυθήρων, αὐτομολούντων τε τῶν
Εἱλώτων, καὶ ἀεὶ προσδοκίας οὔσης μή τι καὶ οἱ
ὑπομένοντες τοῖς ἔξω πίσυνοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα
3 σφίσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, νεωτερίσωσιν. ξυνέ-

They return to Sparta.

Reasons why both sides are disposed to peace.

βαινε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους αὐτοῖς τὰς τριακονταέτεις σπονδὰς ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδῳ εἶναι, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἤθελον σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς τὴν Κυνοσουρίαν γῆν ἀποδώσει. ὥστ᾽ ἀδύνατα εἶναι ἐφαίνετο Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἅμα πολεμεῖν. τῶν τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ὑπώπτευόν τινας ἀποστήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους· ὅπερ καὶ

15 ἐγένετο. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς λογιζομένοις ἐδόκει ποιητέα εἶναι ἡ ξύμβασις, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτῶν πρῶτοί τε καὶ ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς.

The Lacedaemonians were especially desirous of recovering their prisoners captured at Pylos.

2 ἤρξαντο μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν αὐτῶν πράσσειν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔπως ἤθελον εὖ φερόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καταλύεσθαι. σφαλέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ παραχρῆμα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, γνόντες νῦν μᾶλλον ἂν δεξαμένους, ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεχειρίαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδει ξυνιόντας καὶ

16 περὶ τοῦ πλείονος χρόνου βουλεύεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἧσσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγεγένητο καὶ ἐτεθνήκει Κλέων τε καὶ Βρασίδας, οἵπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦντο τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ὁ δὲ γενομένης ἡσυχίας καταφανέστερος νομίζων ἂν εἶναι

Pleistoanax and Nicias, who are now the leading men in Sparta and Athens, are anxious for peace.

2 κακουργῶν καὶ ἀπιστότερος διαβάλλων, τότε δὲ οἱ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ πόλει σπεύδοντες τὰ μάλιστα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Πλειστοάναξ τε ὁ Παυσανίου βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου, πλεῖστα

τῶν τότε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις, πολλῷ δὴ
3 μᾶλλον προεθυμοῦντο Νικίας μὲν βουλόμενος
ἐν ᾧ ἀπαθὴς ἦν καὶ ἠξιοῦτο διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐ-
τυχίαν, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ
αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι
χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφήλας τὴν
πόλιν διεγένετο, νομίζων ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου τοῦτο
ξυμβαίνειν καὶ ὅστις ἐλάχιστα τύχῃ αὑτὸν παρα-
δίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον τὴν εἰρήνην παρέχειν·
4 Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόμενος
περὶ τῆς καθόδου καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις ἀεὶ προβαλλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὁπότε τι
πταίσειαν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον παρανομη-
5 θεῖσαν ταῦτα ξυμβαίνοι. τὴν γὰρ πρόμαντιν τὴν
ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπῃτιῶντο αὐτὸν πεῖσαι μετ' Ἀριστο-
κλέους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὥστε χρῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἐπὶ πολὺ τάδε θεωροῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, Διὸς υἱοῦ
ἡμιθέου τὸ σπέρμα ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν
ἀναφέρειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀργυρέᾳ εὐλάκᾳ εὐλάξειν·
6 χρόνῳ δὲ προτρέψαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φεύγοντα
αὐτὸν ἐς Λύκαιον διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποτε
μετὰ δώρων δοκοῦσαν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ ἥμισυ τῆς
οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ Διὸς οἰκοῦντα φόβῳ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔτει ἑνὸς δέοντι εἰκοστῷ τοῖς ὁμοί-
οις χοροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καταγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ ὅτε τὸ
πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονα κτίζοντες τοὺς βασιλέας
17 καθίσταντο. ἀχθόμενος οὖν τῇ διαβολῇ ταύτῃ καὶ
νομίζων ἐν εἰρήνῃ μέν, οὐδενὸς σφάλματος
γιγνομένου καὶ ἅμα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιζομένων, κἂν αὐτὸς τοῖς

B.C. 421. Peace is concluded for fifty years.

ἐχθροῖς ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι, πολέμου δὲ καθεστῶτος ἀεὶ ἀνάγκην εἶναι τοὺς προὔχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμφορῶν διαβάλλεσθαι, προὐθυμήθη τὴν ξύμβασιν.
2 καὶ τόν τε χειμῶνα τοῦτον ᾔεσαν ἐς λόγους καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἤδη παρασκευή τε προεπανεσείσθη ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων περιαγγελλομένη κατὰ πόλεις ὡς ἐπὶ τειχισμόν, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον ἐσακούοιεν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν ξυνόδων ἅμα πολλὰς δικαιώσεις προενεγκόντων ἀλλήλοις ξυνεχωρεῖτο ὥστε ἃ ἑκάτεροι πολέμῳ ἔσχον ἀποδόντας τὴν εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, Νίσαιαν δ' ἔχειν Ἀθηναίους—
3 ἀνταπαιτούντων γὰρ Πλάταιαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔφασαν οὐ βίᾳ ἀλλ' ὁμολογίᾳ, αὐτῶν προσχωρησάντων καὶ οὐ προδόντων, ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τὴν Νίσαιαν—τότε δὴ παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ψηφισαμένων πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ Ἠλείων καὶ Μεγαρέων τῶν ἄλλων ὥστε καταλύεσθαι, τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκε τὰ πρασσόμενα, ποιοῦνται τὴν ξύμβασιν καὶ ἐσπείσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὤμοσαν, ἐκεῖνοί τε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τάδε.

18 Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τάδε, καὶ ὤμοσαν κατὰ πόλεις. περὶ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν κοινῶν, θύειν καὶ ἰέναι καὶ μαντεύεσθαι καὶ θεωρεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀδεῶς. τὸ δ' ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεὼν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δελφοὺς αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτο-

Terms and conditions of the fifty years' peace.

τελεῖς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς
2 ἑαυτῶν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἔτη δὲ εἶναι τὰς σπονδὰς
πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς
Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ
κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω
ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ
τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους
μήτε Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Λακεδαι-
μονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε
3 μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ. ἢν δέ τι διάφορον ᾖ πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους, δικαίῳ χρήσθων καὶ ὅρκοις καθ' ὅ τι ἂν ξυν-
θῶνται. ἀποδόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀμφίπολιν. ὅσας δὲ πόλεις
παρέδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέστω ἀπιέ-
ναι ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν
4 ἔχοντας. τὰς δὲ πόλεις φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν
ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ
ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν Ἀθηναίους μηδὲ τοὺς ξυμμά-
χους ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀποδιδόντων τὸν φόρον, ἐπειδὴ αἱ
σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἄργιλος, Στάγειρος,
5 Ἄκανθος, Σκῶλος, Ὄλυνθος, Σπάρτωλος. ξυμμά-
χους δ' εἶναι μηδετέρων, μήτε Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε
Ἀθηναίων· ἢν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πείθωσι τὰς πόλεις,
βουλομένας ταύτας ἐξέστω ξυμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι
αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις. Μηκυβερναίους δὲ καὶ Σα-
ναίους καὶ Σιγγαίους οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν,
καθάπερ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι. ἀποδόντων δὲ
Ἀθηναίοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Πάνακ-
6 τον. ἀποδόντων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις

Κορυφάσιον καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Πτελεὸν
καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅσοι εἰσὶ Λακε-
δαιμονίων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἄλλοθί
7 που ὅσης Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ· καὶ
τοὺς ἐν Σκιώνῃ πολιορκουμένους Πελοποννησίων
ἀφεῖναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμ-
μαχοι ἐν Σκιώνῃ εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσους Βρασίδας ἐσέπεμ-
ψεν καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἧς
Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ. ἀποδόντων δὲ
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὕστινας ἔχου-
σιν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων κατὰ ταὐτά.
8 Σκιωναίων δὲ καὶ Τορωναίων καὶ Σερμυλίων καὶ εἴ
τινα ἄλλην πόλιν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀθηναίους
βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων
ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς. ὅρκους δὲ ποιήσασθαι Ἀθη-
ναίους πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους
κατὰ πόλεις. ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὅρκον
9 ἑκάτεροι τὸν μέγιστον ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως. ὁ δ᾽
ὅρκος ἔστω ὅδε· ἐμμενῶ ταῖς ξυνθήκαις καὶ ταῖς
σπονδαῖς ταῖσδε δικαίως καὶ ἀδόλως. ἔστω δὲ
Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις κατὰ ταὐτὰ
ὅρκος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, τὸν δὲ ὅρκον ἀνανεοῦσθαι
10 κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀμφοτέρους. στήλας δὲ στῆσαι
Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀθή-
ναις ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ.
εἰ δέ τι ἀμνημονοῦσιν ὁποτεροιοῦν καὶ ὅτου πέρι,
λόγοις δικαίοις χρωμένοις εὔορκον εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις
ταύτῃ μεταθεῖναι ὅπῃ ἂν δοκῇ ἀμφοτέροις, Ἀθη-
ναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

Names of the contracting parties.

19 Ἄρχει δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν ἔφορος Πλειστόλας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς τετάρτῃ φθίνοντος, ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις ἄρχων Ἀλκαῖος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος· ὤμνυον δὲ οἵδε καὶ ἐσπένδοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Πλειστοάναξ, Ἆγις, Πλειστόλας, Δαμάγητος, Χίονις, Μεταγένης, Ἄκανθος, Δάϊθος, Ἰσχαγόρας, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευξίδας, Ἄντιππος, Τέλλις, Ἀλκινίδας, Ἐμπεδίας,
2 Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἵδε, Λάμπων, Ἰσθμιόνικος, Νικίας, Λάχης, Εὐθύδημος, Προκλῆς, Πυθόδωρος, Ἅγνων, Μυρτίλος, Θρασυκλῆς, Θεαγένης, Ἀριστοκράτης, Ἰώλκιος, Τιμοκράτης, Λέων, Λάμαχος, Δημοσθένης.

Duration of the first period of the war.

20 Αὗται αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἦρι ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν, αὐτόδεκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν, ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἡ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ
2 τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐγένετο. σκοπείτω δέ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ μὴ τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαινόντων πιστεύσας μᾶλλον. οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές ἐστιν, οἷς καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ
3 μεσοῦσι καὶ ὅπως ἔτυχέ τῳ ἐπεγένετό τι. κατὰ θέρη δὲ καὶ χειμῶνας ἀριθμῶν, ὥσπερ γέγραπται, εὑρήσει, ἐξ ἡμισείας ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος, δέκα μὲν θέρη ἴσους δὲ χειμῶνας τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷδε γεγενημένους.

21 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ἔλαχον γὰρ πρότεροι ἀποδιδόναι ἃ εἶχον, τούς τε ἄνδρας εὐθὺς τοὺς παρὰ

σφίσιν αἰχμαλώτους ἀφίεσαν καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης πρέσβεις Ἰσχαγόραν καὶ Μηνᾶν καὶ Φιλοχαρίδαν ἐκέλευον τὸν Κλεαρίδαν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν παραδιδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰς σπονδάς, ὡς εἴρητο ἑκάστοις, δέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον,

The Lacedaemonian allies disapprove of the treaty. Clearidas still holds Amphipolis.

2 νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐπιτηδείας εἶναι· οὐδὲ ὁ Κλεαρίδας παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, χαριζόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν, λέγων ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἴη βίᾳ ἐκείνων παραδιδόναι. ἐλθὼν δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος μετὰ πρέσβεων αὐτόθεν ἀπολογησόμενός τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἢν κατηγορῶσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχαγόραν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπείθετο, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἰ ἔτι μετακινητὴ εἴη ἡ ὁμολογία, ἐπειδὴ εὗρε κατειλημμένας, αὐτὸς μὲν πάλιν πεμπόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κελευόντων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὸ χωρίον παραδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁπόσοι Πελοποννησίων ἔνεισιν

22 ἐξαγαγεῖν, κατὰ τάχος ἐπορεύετο. οἱ δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι [1]αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον ὄντες καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὴ δεξαμένους τὰς σπονδὰς ἐκέλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεῖσθαι.

The Lacedaemonians conclude a separate alliance with Athens.

οἱ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ προφάσει, ᾗπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον
ἀπεώσαντο, οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξασθαι, ἢν μή τινας δι-
2 καιοτέρας τούτων ποιῶνται. ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ
ἐσήκουον, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, νομίζοντες ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι τούς τε Ἀργείους, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον Ἀμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου ἐλθόντων ἐπισπένδεσθαι, νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ δεινοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον μάλιστ'

[1] αὐτοί

ἂν ἡσυχάζειν· πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς[1] *Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν. παρόντων οὖν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ γενομένων λόγων ξυνέβησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὅρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία ἥδε.*

Terms and conditions of alliance for fifty years.

23 Κατὰ *τάδε ξύμμαχοι ἔσονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεντήκοντα ἔτη. ἢν δέ τινες ἴωσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν πολέμιοι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κακῶς ποιῶσι Λακεδαιμονίους, ὠφελεῖν Ἀθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίους τρόπῳ ὁποίῳ ἂν δύνων-*
2 *ται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἢν δὲ δῃώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ ἅμα ἄμφω τὼ πόλεε. ταῦτα δ' εἶναι δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀδόλως. καὶ ἤν τινες ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων γῆν ἴωσι πολέμιοι καὶ κακῶς ποιῶσιν, Ἀθηναίους ὠφελεῖν Λακεδαιμο-*
3 *νίους τρόπῳ ὅτῳ ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἢν δὲ δῃώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, καταλύειν δὲ ἅμα ἄμφω τὼ πόλεε. ταῦτα δ' εἶναι δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀδόλως. ἢν δὲ ἡ δουλεία ἐπανιστῆ-*
4 *ται, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀθηναίους Λακεδαιμονίοις παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ὀμοῦνται δὲ ταῦτα οἵπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σπονδὰς ὤμνυον ἑκατέρων. ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἰόντας ἐς Ἀθήνας πρὸς τὰ Διονύσια, Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἰόντας ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς τὰ Ὑακίνθια.*
5 *στήλην δὲ ἑκατέρους στῆσαι τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρ' Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν*

[1] Ἀργείους?

Ἀθήναις ἐν πόλει παρ' Ἀθηνᾷ. ἢν δέ τι δοκῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελεῖν περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ, εὔορκον ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι.

Names of the contracting parties. The Athenians restore the Lacedaemonian prisoners.

24 Τὸν δὲ ὅρκον ὤμνυον Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἵδε, Πλειστοάναξ, Ἆγις, Πλειστόλας, Δαμάγητος, Χίονις, Μεταγένης, Ἄκανθος, Δάϊθος, Ἰσχαγόρας, Φιλοχαρίδας, Ζευξίδας, Ἄντιππος, Ἀλκινάδας, Τέλλις, Ἐμπεδίας, Μηνᾶς, Λάφιλος· Ἀθηναίων δὲ Λάμπων, Ἰσθμιόνικος, Λάχης, Νικίας, Εὐθύδημος, Προκλῆς, Πυθόδωρος, Ἅγνων, Μυρτίλος, Θρασυκλῆς, Θεαγένης, Ἀριστοκράτης, Ἰώλκιος, Τιμοκράτης, Λέων, Λάμαχος, Δημοσθένης.

2 Αὕτη ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀπέδοσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἦρχε τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος γέγραπται.

Fresh disturbances are threatened; and suspicions arise between Athens and Sparta.

25 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αἳ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὸν δεκαετῆ πόλεμον ἐπὶ Πλειστόλα μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐφόρου, Ἀλκαίου δ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, τοῖς μὲν
2 δεξαμένοις αὐτὰς εἰρήνη ἦν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεών τινες διεκίνουν τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ εὐθὺς ἄλλη ταραχὴ καθίστατο τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. καὶ ἅμα καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὕποπτοι ἐγένοντο, ἔστιν ἐν
3 οἷς οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἃ εἴρητο. καὶ
ἐπὶ ἓξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας ἀπέσχοντο μὴ ἐπὶ
τὴν ἑκατέρων γῆν στρατεῦσαι, ἔξωθεν δὲ μετ' ἀνα-
κωχῆς οὐ βεβαίου ἔβλαπτον ἀλλήλους τὰ μάλιστα·
ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες λῦσαι τὰς μετὰ
τὰ δέκα ἔτη σπονδὰς αὖθις ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν
26 κατέστησαν. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θου-
κυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἑξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγέ-
νετο, κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, μέχρι οὗ
τήν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τὰ
μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον.

In fact the war never really ceased. Opportunities of information possessed by Thucydides.

2 ἔτη δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο τῷ πολέμῳ
ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου ξύμβασιν εἴ
τις μὴ ἀξιώσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικαιώ-
σει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις ὡς διῄρηται ἀθρείτω καὶ
εὑρήσει οὐκ εἰκὸς ὂν εἰρήνην αὐτὴν κριθῆναι, ἐν ᾗ
οὔτε ἀπέδοσαν πάντα οὔτ' ἀπεδέξαντο ἃ ξυνέθεντο,
3 ἔξω τε τούτων πρὸς τὸν Μαντινικὸν καὶ Ἐπιδαύ-
ριον πόλεμον καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ἀμφοτέροις ἁμαρτήματα
ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ξύμμαχοι οὐδὲν ἧσσον
πολέμιοι ἦσαν, Βοιωτοί τε ἐκεχειρίαν δεχήμερον
ἦγον. ὥστε ξὺν τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷ δεκαετεῖ
καὶ τῇ μετ' αὐτὸν ὑπόπτῳ ἀνακωχῇ καὶ τῷ ὕστε-
ρον ἐξ αὐτῆς πολέμῳ εὑρήσει τις τοσαῦτα ἔτη,
λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ ἡμέρας οὐ πολ-
λὰς παρενεγκούσας· καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν τι
ἰσχυρισαμένοις μόνον δὴ τοῦτο ἐχυρῶς ξυμβάν·
4 ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε μέμνημαι, καὶ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέ-

μου καὶ μέχρι οὗ ἐτελεύτησεν, προφερόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὅτι τρὶς ἐννέα ἔτη δέοι γενέσθαι αὐτόν. ἐπεβίων δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ, αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην, ὅπως ἀκριβές τι
5 εἴσομαι· καὶ ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγήν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθέσθαι. τὴν οὖν μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διαφοράν τε καὶ ξύγχυσιν τῶν σπονδῶν καὶ τὰ ἔπειτα ὡς ἐπολεμήθη ἐξηγήσομαι.

27 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ πεντηκοντούτεις σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὕστερον αἱ ξυμμαχίαι, καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πρεσβεῖαι, αἵπερ παρεκλήθησαν ἐς αὐτά, ἀνεχώρουν
2 ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον, Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἐς Ἄργος τραπόμενοι πρῶτον λόγους ποιοῦνται πρός τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων Ἀργείων, ὡς χρή, ἐπειδὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῆς Πελοποννήσου σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς πρὶν ἐχθίστους πεποίηνται, ὁρᾶν τοὺς Ἀργείους ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ Πελοπόννησος, καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν βουλομένην πόλιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἥτις αὐτόνομός τέ ἐστι καὶ δίκας ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας δίδωσι, πρὸς Ἀργείους ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσ-
3 θαι, ὥστε τῇ ἀλλήλων ἐπιμαχεῖν, ἀποδεῖξαι δὲ ἄνδρας ὀλίγους ἀρχὴν αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τοὺς λόγους εἶναι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς μὴ πείσαντας τὸ πλῆθος· ἔφασαν

The Corinthians propose to form a Peloponnesian league under Argos in opposition to Lacedaemon.

δὲ πολλοὺς προσχωρήσεσθαι μίσει τῶν Λακεδαι-
28 μονίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι διδάξαντες ταῦτα ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρες ἀκούσαντες ἐπειδὴ ἀνήνεγκαν τοὺς λόγους ἔς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐψηφίσαντο Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας εἵλοντο δώδεκα πρὸς οὓς τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· τούτων δὲ μηδετέροις ἐξεῖναι ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργείων

The Argives accept the proposal.

2 σπείσασθαι. ἐδέξαντό τε ταῦτα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μᾶλλον ὁρῶντες τόν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σφίσι πόλεμον ἐσόμενον, ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδῳ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου
3 ἡγήσεσθαι· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἥ τε Λακεδαίμων μάλιστα δὴ κακῶς ἤκουσε καὶ ὑπερώφθη διὰ τὰς ξυμφοράς, οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι ἄριστα ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν, οὐ ξυναράμενοι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἔνσπονδοι ὄντες ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀργεῖοι οὕτως ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεδέχοντο τοὺς ἐθέλοντας τῶν
29 Ἑλλήνων, Μαντινῆς δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν πρῶτοι προσεχώρησαν, δεδιότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. τοῖς γὰρ Μαντινεῦσι μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατέστραπτο ὑπήκοον, ἔτι τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους

The Mantineans join the confederacy, and other states are disposed to follow.

2 πολέμου ὄντος, καὶ ἐνόμιζον οὐ περιόψεσθαι σφᾶς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἄρχειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σχολὴν ἦγον· ὥστε ἄσμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐτράποντο, πόλιν τε μεγάλην νομίζοντες καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀεὶ διάφορον, δημοκρατουμένην τε ὥσπερ

καὶ αὐτοί. ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ ἡ
3 ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος ἐς θροῦν καθίστατο, ὡς καὶ
σφίσι ποιητέον τοῦτο, νομίσαντες πλέον τέ τι
εἰδότας μεταστῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
ἅμα δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες, ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς
σπονδαῖς ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς ἐγέγραπτο εὔορκον εἶναι
προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν πολέοιν
4 δοκῇ, Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ
γράμμα μάλιστα τὴν Πελοπόννησον διεθορύβει
καὶ ἐς ὑποψίαν καθίστη μὴ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς
βούλωνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δουλώσασθαι· δίκαιον
γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις γεγράφθαι τὴν
μετάθεσιν. ὥστε φοβούμενοι οἱ πολλοὶ ὥρμηντο
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ξυμμαχίαν
ποιεῖσθαι.

30 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θροῦν τοῦτον
ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καθεστῶτα, καὶ τοὺς
Κορινθίους διδασκάλους τε γενομένους
καὶ αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας σπείσασθαι πρὸς
τὸ Ἄργος, πέμπουσι πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον
βουλόμενοι προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ μέλλον, καὶ ᾐτιῶντο
τήν τε ἐσήγησιν τοῦ παντός, καὶ εἰ Ἀργείοις, σφῶν
2 ἀποστάντες, ξύμμαχοι ἔσονται, παραβήσεσθαί τε
ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὅρκους, καὶ ἤδη ἀδικεῖν ὅτι οὐ
δέχονται τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδάς, εἰρημένον κύριον
εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ξυμμάχων ψηφίσηται,
3 ἢν μή τι θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ᾖ. Κορίνθιοι δέ,
παρόντων σφίσι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσοι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ
ἐδέξαντο τὰς σπονδάς—παρεκάλεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς
αὐτοὶ πρότερον—ἀντέλεγον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ

Remonstrances of the Lacedaemonians at Corinth.

μὲν ἠδικοῦντο οὐ δηλοῦντες ἄντικρυς, ὅτι οὔτε
Σόλλιον σφίσιν ἀπέλαβον παρ' Ἀθηναίων οὔτε
Ἀνακτόριον, εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο ἐνόμιζον ἐλασσοῦσθαι,
πρόσχημα δὲ ποιούμενοι τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης μὴ προ-
4 δώσειν· ὀμόσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅρκους ἰδίᾳ τε, ὅτε μετὰ
Ποτιδαιατῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλους
ὕστερον. οὔκουν παραβαίνειν τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων
ὅρκους ἔφασαν οὐκ ἐσιόντες ἐς τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων
σπονδάς· θεῶν γὰρ πίστεις ὀμόσαντες ἐκείνοις οὐκ
5 ἂν εὐορκεῖν προδιδόντες αὐτούς. εἰρῆσθαι δ' ὅτι
ἢν μὴ θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ᾖ· φαίνεσθαι οὖν
σφίσι κώλυμα θεῖον τοῦτο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν πα-
λαιῶν ὅρκων τοσαῦτα εἶπον, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας
ξυμμαχίας μετὰ τῶν φίλων βουλευσάμενοι ποιή-
6 σειν ὅ τι ἂν δίκαιον ᾖ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων
πρέσβεις ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἔτυχον δὲ παρόν-
τες ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Ἀργείων πρέσβεις, οἳ ἐκέλευον
τοὺς Κορινθίους ἰέναι ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ μὴ
μέλλειν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν ὕστερον ξύλλογον αὐτοῖς τὸν
παρὰ σφίσι προεῖπον ἥκειν.

Elis and Corinth join the Argive alliance.

31 Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Ἠλείων πρεσβεία εὐθὺς καὶ
ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Κορινθίους ξυμμαχίαν
πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθόν-
τες, καθάπερ προείρητο, Ἀργείων ξύμ-
2 μαχοι ἐγένοντο. διαφερόμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ Λεπρέου. πολέμου γὰρ γενο-
μένου ποτὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδων τινὰς Λεπρεάταις, καὶ
Ἠλείων παρακληθέντων ὑπὸ Λεπρεατῶν ἐς ξυμμα-
χίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ καταλυσάντων τὸν
πόλεμον, Ἠλεῖοι τὴν γῆν νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς

Λεπρεάταις τάλαντον ἔταξαν τῷ Διῒ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ
3 ἀποφέρειν. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφερον· ἔπειτα παυσαμένων διὰ πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἐπηνάγκαζον· οἱ δ' ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ δίκης Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτραπείσης, ὑποτοπήσαντες οἱ Ἠλεῖοι μὴ ἴσον ἕξειν, ἀνέντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν Λεπρεατῶν τὴν γῆν
4 ἔτεμον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐδίκασαν αὐτονόμους εἶναι Λεπρεάτας, καὶ ἀδικεῖν Ἠλείους· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐμμεινάντων τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ φρουρὰν ὁπλιτῶν ἐσέπεμψαν ἐς Λέπρεον. οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι, νομίζοντες πόλιν σφῶν ἀφεστηκυῖαν δέξασθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν ξυνθήκην προφέροντες, ἐν ᾗ εἴρητο, ἃ ἔχοντες ἐς τὸν Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντό τινες, ταῦτα ἔχοντας καὶ ἐξελθεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἴσον ἔχοντες ἀφίστανται πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ
5 τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, ὥσπερ προείρητο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐποιήσαντο. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθὺς μετ' ἐκείνους καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Χαλκιδῆς Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντες ἡσύχαζον περιορώμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ νομίζοντες σφίσι τὴν Ἀργείων δημοκρατίαν αὐτοῖς ὀλιγαρχουμένοις ἧσσον ξύμφορον εἶναι τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας.

Capture of Scione. Tegea refuses to revolt from Lacedaemon.

32 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου Σκιωναίους μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ τὴν γῆν Πλαταιεῦσιν ἔδοσαν νέμεσθαι, Δηλίους δὲ κατήγαγον πάλιν ἐς Δῆλον, ἐνθυμούμενοι τάς τε ἐν ταῖς

μάχαις ξυμφορὰς καὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ χρήσαν-
2 *τος. καὶ Φωκῆς καὶ Λοκροὶ ἤρξαντο πολεμεῖν.*
καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤδη ξύμμαχοι ὄντες
ἔρχονται ἐς Τεγέαν ἀποστήσοντες Λακεδαιμονίων,
ὁρῶντες μέγα μέρος ὄν, καὶ εἰ σφίσι προσγένοιτο
3 *νομίζοντες ἅπασαν ἂν ἔχειν Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ*
οὐδὲν ἂν ἔφασαν ἐναντιωθῆναι οἱ Τεγεᾶται Λακε-
δαιμονίοις, οἱ Κορίνθιοι μέχρι τούτου προθύμως
πράσσοντες ἀνεῖσαν τῆς φιλονεικίας καὶ ὠρρώδη-
σαν μὴ οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων προσχωρῇ.
ὅμως δὲ ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐδέοντο σφῶν
τε καὶ Ἀργείων γίγνεσθαι ξυμμάχους καὶ τἆλλα
4 *κοινῇ πράσσειν· τάς τε δεχημέρους ἐπισπονδάς, αἳ*
ἦσαν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους
οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον γενόμεναι τούτων τῶν πεντη-
κονταετίδων σπονδῶν, ἐκέλευον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς
Βοιωτοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας Ἀθήναζε καὶ σφίσι
ποιῆσαι, ὥσπερ Βοιωτοὶ εἶχον, μὴ δεχομένων δὲ
Ἀθηναίων ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
5 *μὴ σπένδεσθαι ἄνευ αὐτῶν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ δεομένων*
τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀργείων ξυμμαχίας
ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον, ἐλθόντες δὲ Ἀθήναζε
μετὰ Κορινθίων οὐχ εὕροντο τὰς δεχημέρους σπον-
δάς, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Κορινθίοις
εἶναι σπονδάς, εἴπερ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσὶ ξύμμαχοι.
Βοιωτοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπεῖπον τὰς δεχη-
μέρους, ἀξιούντων καὶ αἰτιωμένων Κορινθίων
ξυνθέσθαι σφίσιν· Κορινθίοις δὲ ἀνακωχὴ ἄσπον-
δος ἦν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

33 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους πανδημεὶ*

Lacedaemonian expedition into Arcadia.

ἐστράτευσαν, Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως ἡγουμένου, τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Παρρασίους, Μαντινέων ὑπηκόους ὄντας, κατὰ στάσιν ἐπικαλεσαμένων σφᾶς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος ἀναιρήσοντες, ἢν δύνωνται, ὃ ἐτείχισαν Μαντινῆς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφρούρουν, ἐν τῇ Παρρασικῇ κείμενον
2 ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι τῆς Λακωνικῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν γῆν τῶν Παρρασίων ἐδῄουν, οἱ δὲ Μαντινῆς τὴν πόλιν Ἀργείοις φύλαξι παραδόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐφρούρουν· ἀδύνατοι δ᾽ ὄντες διασῶσαι τό τε ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος καὶ τὰς ἐν Παρρασίοις πόλεις ἀπῆλθον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τούς τε Παρρασίους αὐτονόμους ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου.

Enfranchisement of the Helots who served under Brasidas. Treatment of the captives recovered from Sphacteria.

34 Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἤδη ἡκόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης μετὰ Βρασίδου ἐξελθόντων στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ὁ Κλεαρίδας μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐκόμισεν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς μὲν μετὰ Βρασίδου Εἵλωτας μαχεσαμένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν ἐς Λέπρεον κατέστησαν, κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς
2 Ἠλείας, ὄντες ἤδη διάφοροι Ἠλείοις· τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ληφθέντας σφῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας, δείσαντες μή τι διὰ τὴν ξυμφορὰν νομίσαντες ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι καὶ ὄντες ἐπίτιμοι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἤδη καὶ ἀρχάς τινας ἔχοντας ἀτίμους ἐποίησαν, ἀτιμίαν δὲ τοιάνδε ὥστε μήτε ἄρχειν μήτε πριαμέ-

νους τι ἢ πωλοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι. ὕστερον δὲ αὖθις χρόνῳ ἐπίτιμοι ἐγένοντο.

35 Τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ Θύσσον τὴν ἐν [1]τῇ Ἄθῳ Δικτιδιῆς εἷλον, Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ξύμμαχον.

Growing suspicions between Athens and Sparta.

Καὶ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπιμιξίαι μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις, ὑπώπτευον δὲ ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν
2 χωρίων ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν πρότεροι λαχόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀποδιδόναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀποδεδώκεσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης παρεῖχον ξυμμάχους τὰς σπονδὰς δεχομένους οὐδὲ Βοιωτοὺς οὐδὲ Κορινθίους, λέγοντες ἀεὶ ὡς μετ᾽ Ἀθηναίων τούτους, ἢν μὴ ᾽θέλωσι, κοινῇ ἀναγκάσουσιν· χρόνους τε προὔθεντο ἄνευ ξυγγραφῆς ἐν οἷς χρῆν τοὺς μὴ ἐσιόντας ἀμφοτέ-
3 ροις πολεμίους εἶναι. τούτων οὖν ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἔργῳ γιγνόμενον ὑπετόπευον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μηδὲν δίκαιον διανοεῖσθαι, ὥστε οὔτε Πύλον ἀπαιτούντων αὐτῶν ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου δεσμώτας μετεμέλοντο ἀποδεδωκότες, τά τε ἄλλα χωρία εἶχον, μένοντες ἕως
4 σφίσι κἀκεῖνοι ποιήσειαν τὰ εἰρημένα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι· τοὺς γὰρ παρὰ σφίσι δεσμώτας ὄντας Ἀθηναίων ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης στρατιώτας ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου ἐγκρατεῖς ἦσαν· Ἀμφιπόλεως δὲ
5 οὐκ ἔφασαν κρατεῖν ὥστε παραδοῦναι, Βοιωτοὺς δὲ πειράσεσθαι καὶ Κορινθίους ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐσα-

[1] τῷ

γαγεῖν καὶ Πάνακτον ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς αἰχμάλωτοι κομιεῖν. Πύλον μέντοι ἠξίουν σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δὲ μή, Μεσσηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς Εἵλωτας ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης, Ἀθηναίους δὲ φρουρεῖν τὸ 6 χωρίον αὐτούς, εἰ βούλονται. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥστε ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ Πύλου Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Εἵλωτάς τε καὶ ὅσοι ηὐτομολήκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς· καὶ κατῴκισαν αὐτοὺς ἐν Κρανίοις τῆς Κεφαλληνίας· τὸ μὲν οὖν θέρος τοῦτο ἡσυχία ἦν καὶ ἔφοδοι παρ' ἀλλήλους.

36 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος—ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔφοροι ἕτεροι καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὧν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο ἄρχοντες ἤδη καί τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναντίοι[1] σπονδαῖς—ἐλθουσῶν πρεσβειῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος καὶ παρόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ πολλὰ ἐν ἀλλήλοις εἰπόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ξυμβάντων, ὡς ἀπῄεσαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Κορινθίοις Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης, οὗτοι οἵπερ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα διαλῦσαι τὰς σπονδάς, λόγους ποιοῦνται ἰδίους, παραινοῦντες ὅτι μάλιστα ταὐτά τε γιγνώσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι Βοιωτούς, Ἀργείων γενομένους πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ξυμμάχους, αὖθις μετὰ Βοιωτῶν Ἀργείους 2 Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι ξυμμάχους· οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστ' ἂν ἀναγκασθῆναι Βοιωτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ἀττικὰς σπονδὰς ἐσελθεῖν· ἑλέσθαι γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας καὶ διαλύσεως τῶν

The new Spartan ephors intrigue with Corinth and Boeotia, proposing to effect an alliance with Argos.

[1] ταῖς

σπονδῶν Ἀργείους σφίσι φίλους καὶ ξυμμάχους
3 γενέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ Ἄργος ἀεὶ ἠπίσταντο ἐπιθυμοῦντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καλῶς σφίσι φίλιον γενέσθαι,[1] ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου πόλεμον ῥᾷω ἂν εἶναι. τὸ μέντοι Πάνακτον ἐδέοντο Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως παραδώσουσι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἵνα ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Πύλον, ἢν δύνωνται, ἀπολαβόντες ῥᾷον
37 καθιστῶνται Ἀθηναίοις ἐς πόλεμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν

The Boeotians are favourably disposed.

Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι ταῦτα ἐπεσταλμένοι ἀπό τε τοῦ Ξενάρους καὶ Κλεοβούλου καὶ ὅσοι φίλοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, ἑκάτεροι ἀνεχώρουν. Ἀργείων δὲ δύο ἄνδρες τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεγίστης ἐπετήρουν ἀπιόντας αὐτοὺς καθ' ὁδὸν καὶ ξυγγενόμενοι ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, εἴ πως οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σφίσι ξύμμαχοι γένοιντο ὥσπερ Κορίν-
2 θιοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς· νομίζειν γὰρ ἂν τούτου προχωρήσαντος ῥᾳδίως ἤδη καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ σπένδεσθαι καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ βούλοιντο, κοινῷ λόγῳ χρωμένους, καὶ εἴ τινα πρὸς ἄλλον δέοι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεσιν
3 ἀκούουσιν ἤρεσκεν· κατὰ τύχην γὰρ ἐδέοντο τούτων ὧνπερ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος αὐτοῖς φίλοι ἐπεστάλκεσαν. καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρες ὡς ᾔσθοντο αὐτοὺς δεχομένους τὸν λόγον, εἰπόντες ὅτι πρέσβεις πέμψουσιν ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἀπῆλθον. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς βοιωτάρχαις τά τε ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ξυγγενομένων Ἀργείων· καὶ οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἠρέσκοντό τε καὶ πολλῷ προθυμότεροι ἦσαν, ὅτι

[1] ἡγουμένους?

ἀμφοτέρωθεν ξυνεβεβήκει αὐτοῖς τούς τε φίλους
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς
4 Ἀργείους ἐς τὰ ὁμοῖα σπεύδειν. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ
ὕστερον πρέσβεις παρῆσαν Ἀργείων τὰ εἰρημένα
προκαλούμενοι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπαινέσαν-
τες τοὺς λόγους οἱ βοιωτάρχαι καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπο-
σχόμενοι ἀποστελεῖν περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἐς Ἄργος.

38 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἐδόκει πρῶτον τοῖς βοιωτάρχαις
καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ τοῖς (The matter however falls through.)
ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης πρέσβεσιν ὀμόσαι ὅρκους
ἀλλήλοις, ἦ μὴν ἔν τε τῷ παρατυχόντι ἀμυνεῖν
τῷ δεομένῳ καὶ μὴ πολεμήσειν τῳ μηδὲ ξυμβήσεσ-
2 θαι ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης, καὶ οὕτως ἤδη τοὺς Βοιω-
τοὺς καὶ Μεγαρέας—τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐποίουν—πρὸς
τοὺς Ἀργείους σπένδεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους
γενέσθαι οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἐκοίνωσαν ταῖς τέσσαρσι
βουλαῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ταῦτα, αἵπερ ἅπαν τὸ κῦρος
ἔχουσιν, καὶ παρῄνουν γενέσθαι ὅρκους ταῖς πόλε-
σιν, ὅσαι βούλονται ἐπ᾽ ὠφελίᾳ σφίσι ξυνομνύναι.
3 οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ὄντες οὐ προσ-
δέχονται τὸν λόγον, δεδιότες μὴ ἐναντία Λακεδαι-
μονίοις ποιήσωσι, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀφεστῶσι Κοριν-
4 θίοις ξυνομνύντες· οὐ γὰρ εἶπον αὐτοῖς οἱ βοιωτάρ-
χαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, ὅτι τῶν τε ἐφόρων
Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης καὶ οἱ φίλοι παραινοῦσιν
Ἀργείων πρῶτον καὶ Κορινθίων γενομένους ξυμμά-
χους ὕστερον μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεσθαι,
οἰόμενοι τὴν βουλήν, κἂν μὴ εἴπωσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα
ψηφιεῖσθαι ἢ ἃ σφίσι προδιαγνόντες παραινοῦσιν.
5 ὡς δὲ ἀντέστη τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ

ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης πρέσβεις ἄπρακτοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ βοιωτάρχαι μέλλοντες πρότερον, εἰ ταῦτα ἔπεισαν, καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν πειράσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀργείους ποιεῖν, οὐκέτι ἐσήνεγκαν περὶ Ἀργείων ἐς τὰς βουλάς, οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ Ἄργος τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ὑπέσχοντο ἔπεμπον, ἀμέλεια δέ τις ἐνῆν καὶ διατριβὴ τῶν πάντων.

39 Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ Μηκύβερναν Ὀλύνθιοι Ἀθηναίων φρουρούντων ἐπιδραμόντες εἷλον.

Alliance concluded between Lacedaemon and Boeotia.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα—ἐγίγνοντο γὰρ ἀεὶ λόγοι τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ ὧν εἶχον ἀλλήλων—ἐλπίζοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ Πάνακτον Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀπολάβοιεν, κομίσασθαι ἂν αὐτοὶ Πύλον, ἦλθον ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρεσβευόμενοι καὶ ἐδέοντο σφίσι Πάνακτόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων δεσμώτας παραδοῦναι, ἵν᾽ ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν Πύλον κομίσωνται.
2 οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν, ἢν μὴ σφίσι ξυμμαχίαν ἰδίαν ποιήσωνται ὥσπερ Ἀθηναίοις. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι ἀδικήσουσιν Ἀθηναίους, εἰρημένον ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μήτε σπένδεσθαί τῳ μήτε πολεμεῖν, βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ Πάνακτον παραλαβεῖν ὡς τὴν Πύλον ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ κομιούμενοι καὶ ἅμα τῶν ξυγχέαι σπευδόντων τὰς σπονδὰς προθυμουμένων τὰ ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ· καὶ τὸ Πάνακτον εὐθὺς καθηρεῖτο. καὶ ἑνδέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

40 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι εὐθὺς τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους

οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ὡς οἵ τε πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν οὓς ἔφασαν πέμψειν οὐχ ἧκον, τό τε Πάνακτον ᾔσθοντο καθαιρούμενον καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἰδίαν γεγενημένην τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἔδεισαν μὴ μονωθῶσι καὶ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους πᾶσα ἡ ξυμ-

B.C. 420. The Argives, fearing to be left without allies, apply to Lacedaemon for terms of truce.

2 μαχία χωρήσῃ· τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ᾤοντο πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τό τε Πάνακτον καθελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς ἐσιέναι, τούς τε Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναι ταῦτα, ὥστε οὐδὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἔτι σφίσιν εἶναι ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι, πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν, εἰ μὴ μείνειαν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδαί, τοῖς
3 γοῦν Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχοι ἔσεσθαι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Τεγεάταις, Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἅμα πολεμῶσιν, πρότερον οὐ δεχόμενοι τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι, ἔπεμπον ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις Εὔστροφον καὶ Αἴσωνα, οἳ ἐδόκουν προσφιλέστατοι αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ἡγούμενοι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κράτιστα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι, ὅπῃ ἂν ξυγ-
41 χωρῇ, ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν λόγους ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν σφίσιν αἱ σπονδαὶ γίγνοιντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἠξίουν δίκης ἐπιτροπὴν σφίσι γενέσθαι ἢ ἐς πόλιν τινὰ ἢ ἰδιώτην περὶ τῆς Κυνοσουρίας γῆς, ἧς ἀεὶ πέρι διαφέρονται μεθορίας οὔσης—ἔχει δὲ

Preliminaries of peace settled between Sparta and Argos.

ἐν αὐτῇ Θυρέαν καὶ Ἀνθήνην πόλιν, νέμονται δ'
2 αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι—ἔπειτα δ' οὐκ ἐώντων Λακε-
δαιμονίων μεμνῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰ βούλον-
ται σπένδεσθαι ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι, οἱ
Ἀργεῖοι πρέσβεις τάδε ὅμως ἐπηγάγοντο τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους ξυγχωρῆσαι, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι
σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐξεῖναι δ'
ὁποτεροισοῦν προκαλεσαμένοις, μήτε νόσου οὔσης
μήτε πολέμου Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Ἄργει, διαμάχεσθαι
περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε,
ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἠξίωσαν νικᾶν, διώκειν δὲ μὴ
ἐξεῖναι περαιτέρω τῶν πρὸς Ἄργος καὶ Λακεδαί-
3 μονα ὅρων. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐδόκει μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα, ἔπειτα—ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ
τὸ Ἄργος πάντως φίλιον ἔχειν—ξυνεχώρησαν ἐφ'
οἷς ἠξίουν καὶ ξυνεγράψαντο. ἐκέλευον δ' οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν τέλος τι αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐς τὸ
Ἄργος πρῶτον ἐπαναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς δεῖξαι τῷ
πλήθει, καὶ ἢν ἀρέσκοντα ᾖ, ἥκειν ἐς τὰ Ὑακίνθια
τοὺς ὅρκους ποιησομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρη-
σαν·

42 Indignation of the Athenians.

ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ᾧ οἱ Ἀρ-
γεῖοι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον, οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων, Ἀνδρομένης καὶ Φαίδιμος καὶ Ἀν-
τιμενίδας, οὓς ἔδει τὸ Πάνακτον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας
τοὺς παρὰ Βοιωτῶν παραλαβόντας Ἀθηναίοις
ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ μὲν Πάνακτον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν
2 αὐτῶν καθῃρημένον εὗρον, ἐπὶ προφάσει ὡς ἦσάν
ποτε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἐκ διαφορᾶς περὶ
αὐτοῦ ὅρκοι παλαιοὶ μηδετέρους οἰκεῖν τὸ χωρίον
ἀλλὰ κοινῇ νέμειν, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας οὓς εἶχον αἰχμα-

λώτους Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίων, παραλαβόντες οἱ περὶ
τὸν Ἀνδρομένην ἐκόμισαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἀπέ-
δοσαν, τοῦ τε Πανάκτου τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἔλεγον
αὐτοῖς, νομίζοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι· πολέμιον
γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοις οἰκήσειν οὐδένα.
3 λεγομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεινὰ ἐποίουν,
νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ τε
Πανάκτου τῇ καθαιρέσει, ὃ ἔδει ὀρθὸν παραδοῦναι,
καὶ πυνθανόμενοι ὅτι καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἰδίᾳ ξυμμαχίαν
πεποίηνται, φάσκοντες πρότερον κοινῇ τοὺς μὴ
δεχομένους τὰς σπονδὰς προσαναγκάσειν. τά τε
ἄλλα ἐσκόπουν ὅσα ἐξελελοίπεσαν τῆς ξυνθήκης
καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἐξηπατῆσθαι, ὥστε χαλεπῶς πρὸς
τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν.

Alcibiades promotes an alliance between Athens and Argos.

43 Κατὰ τοιαύτην δὴ διαφορὰν ὄντων τῶν Λακε-
δαιμονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ ἐν
ταῖς Ἀθήναις αὖ βουλόμενοι λῦσαι τὰς
σπονδὰς εὐθὺς ἐνέκειντο. ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι
τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, ἀνὴρ ἡλικίᾳ μὲν ὢν
ἔτι τότε νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, ἀξιώματι δὲ προ-
2 γόνων τιμώμενος· ᾧ ἐδόκει μὲν καὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους μᾶλλον χωρεῖν, οὐ μέντοι
ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονήματι φιλονεικῶν ἠναντιοῦτο, ὅτι
Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ Νικίου καὶ Λάχητος ἔπραξαν
τὰς σπονδάς, αὐτὸν κατά τε τὴν νεότητα ὑπεριδόν-
τες καὶ κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν προξενίαν ποτὲ οὖσαν οὐ
τιμήσαντες, ἣν τοῦ πάππου ἀπειπόντος αὐτὸς τοὺς
ἐκ τῆς νήσου αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους θεραπεύων διε-
3 νοεῖτο ἀνανεώσασθαι. πανταχόθεν τε νομίζων
ἐλασσοῦσθαι τό τε πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν, οὐ βεβαίους

φάσκων εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα Ἀργείους σφίσι σπεισάμενοι ἐξέλωσι καὶ αὖθις ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μόνους ἴωσι, τούτου ἕνεκα σπένδεσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ τότε, ἐπειδὴ ἡ διαφορὰ ἐγεγένητο, πέμπει εὐθὺς ἐς Ἄργος ἰδίᾳ, κελεύων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προκαλουμένους ἥκειν μετὰ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἠλείων, ὡς καιροῦ ὄντος καὶ αὐτὸς ξυμπράξων
44 τὰ μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀκούσαντες τῆς τε ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων πραχθεῖσαν τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφορὰν μεγάλην καθεστῶτας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τῶν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πρέσβεων, οἳ σφίσι περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἔτυχον ἀπόντες, ἠμέλουν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, νομίζοντες πόλιν τε σφίσι φιλίαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ καὶ δημοκρατουμένην, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχουσαν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ξυμπολεμή-
2 σειν σφίσιν, ἢν καθιστῶνται ἐς πόλεμον. ἔπεμπον οὖν εὐθὺς πρέσβεις ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας· ξυνεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις κατὰ τάχος, δοκοῦντες ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Φιλοχαρίδας καὶ Λέων καὶ Ἔνδιος, δείσαντες μὴ τήν τε ξυμμαχίαν ὀργιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ποιήσωνται, καὶ ἅμα Πύλον ἀπαιτήσοντες ἀντὶ Πανάκτου, καὶ περὶ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίας ἀπολογησόμενοι ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν
45 Ἀθηναίων ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ λέγοντες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περί τε τούτων καὶ ὡς αὐτοκράτορες ἥκουσι

Argive ambassadors sent to Athens. Lacedaemonian envoys also arrive.

Artifice of Alcibiades to prejudice the people against the Lacedaemonians.

περὶ πάντων ξυμβῆναι τῶν διαφόρων, τὸν
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐφόβουν μὴ καὶ ἢν ἐς τὸν
δῆμον ταῦτα λέγωσιν, ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ
πλῆθος καὶ ἀπωσθῇ ἡ Ἀργείων ξυμμα-
2 χία. μηχανᾶται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιόνδε τι ὁ
Ἀλκιβιάδης· τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πείθει, πίστιν
αὐτοῖς δούς, ἢν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ
αὐτοκράτορες ἥκειν, Πύλον τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν—
πείσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀντι-
3 λέγειν—καὶ τἆλλα ξυναλλάξειν. βουλόμενος δὲ
αὐτοὺς Νικίου τε ἀποστῆσαι ταῦτα ἔπρασσε, καὶ
ὅπως ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διαβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλη-
θὲς ἐν νῷ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ λέγουσιν οὐδέποτε ταὐτά,
τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ Μαντινέας ξυμμά-
4 χους ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς
τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες καὶ ἐπερωτώμενοι οὐκ
ἔφασαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτοκράτορες ἥκειν, οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον καταβοῶντος τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσήκουόν τε καὶ ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν
εὐθὺς παραγαγόντες τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽
αὐτῶν ξυμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι· σεισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου,
πρίν τι ἐπικυρωθῆναι, ἡ ἐκκλησία αὕτη ἀνεβλήθη.

The Athenians, in spite of the efforts of Nicias, conclude an alliance with Argos, Mantinea and Elis.

46 Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Νικίας, καίπερ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἠπατημένων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηπατημένος περὶ τοῦ μὴ αὐτοκράτορας ὁμολογῆσαι ἥκειν, ὅμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφη χρῆναι φίλους μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπισχόντας τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους πέμψαι ἔτι ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰδέναι ὅ τι δια-

νοοῦνται, λέγων ἐν μὲν τῷ σφετέρῳ καλῷ ἐν δὲ τῷ
2 ἐκείνων ἀπρεπεῖ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβάλλεσθαι· σφίσι
μὲν γὰρ εὖ ἑστώτων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖσ-
τον ἄριστον εἶναι διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐπραγίαν,
ἐκείνοις δὲ δυστυχοῦσιν ὅτι τάχιστα εὕρημα εἶναι
διακινδυνεῦσαι. ἔπεισέ τε πέμψαι πρέσβεις, ὧν
καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, κελεύσοντας Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴ τι
δίκαιον διανοοῦνται, Πάνακτόν τε ὀρθὸν ἀποδιδόναι
καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, καὶ τὴν Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνεῖ-
ναι, ἢν μὴ ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐσίωσι, καθάπερ εἴρητο
3 ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μηδενὶ ξυμβαίνειν. εἰπεῖν τε ἐκέ-
λευον ὅτι καὶ σφεῖς, εἰ ἐβούλοντο ἀδικεῖν, ἤδη ἂν
Ἀργείους ξυμμάχους πεποιῆσθαι, ὡς παρεῖναί γ'
αὐτοὺς αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα. εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο ἐνεκά-
λουν, πάντα ἐπιστείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοὺς περὶ
4 τὸν Νικίαν πρέσβεις. καὶ ἀφικομένων αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀπαγγειλάντων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τέλος εἰπόντων ὅτι
εἰ μὴ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἀνήσουσι Βοιωτοῖς μὴ ἐσιοῦ-
σιν ἐς τὰς σπονδάς, ποιήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀργείους
καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ξυμμάχους, τὴν μὲν ξυμμαχίαν
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀνήσειν,
ἐπικρατούντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ξενάρη τὸν ἔφορον
ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης
ἦσαν, τοὺς δὲ ὅρκους δεομένου Νικίου ἀνενεώσαντο·
5 ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ πάντα ἀτελῆ ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ καὶ
διαβληθῇ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο, αἴτιος δοκῶν εἶναι τῶν
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδῶν. ἀναχωρήσαντός
τε αὐτοῦ ὡς ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς
Λακεδαίμονος πεπραγμένον, εὐθὺς δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον,
καὶ νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἔτυχον γὰρ παρόντες οἱ

Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, παραγαγόντος Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἐποιήσαντο σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τήνδε.

Terms and conditions of the alliance.

47 Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτη καὶ
Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἠλεῖοι ὑπὲρ
σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὧν ἄρχου-
σιν ἑκάτεροι, ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν
2 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν
ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Ἀργείους καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ Μαν-
τινέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ
τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ὧν ἄρχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, μήτε
Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀργείους καὶ
Ἠλείους καὶ Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τέχνῃ
3 μηδὲ μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ. κατὰ τάδε ξυμμάχους
εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ
Μαντινέας ἑκατὸν ἔτη· ἢν πολέμιοι ἴωσιν ἐς τὴν
γῆν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀργείους καὶ Ἠλεί-
ους καὶ Μαντινέας Ἀθήναζε, καθ' ὅ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλ-
λωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, τρόπῳ ὁποίῳ ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυρο-
4 τάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἢν δὲ δῃώσαντες οἴχωνται,
πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Ἀργείοις καὶ
Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Ἠλείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κακῶς
πάσχειν ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τούτων· κατα-
λύειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν
πόλιν μηδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων, ἢν μὴ ἁπάσαις δοκῇ.
5 βοηθεῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς Ἄργος καὶ Μαντί-
νειαν καὶ Ἦλιν, ἢν πολέμιοι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν
Ἠλείων ἢ τὴν Μαντινέων ἢ τὴν Ἀργείων, καθ' ὅ
τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν αἱ πόλεις αὗται, τρόπῳ ὁποίῳ
6 ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἢν δὲ

δῃώσαντες οἴχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν
πόλιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσι
καὶ Ἠλείοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ πασῶν τού-
των τῶν πόλεων· καταλύειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τὸν
πόλεμον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἢν μὴ ἁπάσαις
7 δοκῇ ταῖς πόλεσιν. ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐᾶν ἔχοντας
διϊέναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τῆς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν
καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσιν ἕκαστοι, μηδὲ
κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἢν μὴ ψηφισαμένων τῶν πόλεων
ἁπασῶν τὴν δίοδον εἶναι, Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀργείων
8 καὶ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἠλείων. τοῖς δὲ βοηθοῦσιν ἡ
πόλις ἡ πέμπουσα παρεχέτω μέχρι μὲν τριάκοντα
ἡμερῶν σῖτον, ἐπὴν ἔλθῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπαγ-
γείλασαν βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀπιοῦσι κατὰ ταὐτά· ἢν δὲ
πλέονα βούλωνται χρόνον τῇ στρατιᾷ χρῆσθαι, ἡ
πόλις ἡ μεταπεμψαμένη διδότω σῖτον, τῷ μὲν
ὁπλίτῃ καὶ ψιλῷ καὶ τοξότῃ τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς Αἰγι-
ναίους τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης, τῷ δ' ἱππεῖ δραχμὴν
9 Αἰγιναίαν. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ μεταπεμψαμένη τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν ἐχέτω, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ·
ἢν δέ ποι δόξῃ ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῇ στρατεύεσθαι, τὸ
ἴσον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετεῖναι πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν.
Ὀμόσαι δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς Ἀθηναίους μὲν ὑπέρ
τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ
Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τούτων
10 κατὰ πόλεις ὀμνύντων. ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώ-
ριον ὅρκον ἕκαστοι τὸν μέγιστον κατὰ ἱερῶν
τελείων. ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ἔστω ὅδε· ἐμμενῶ τῇ ξυμ-
μαχίᾳ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα δικαίως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς
καὶ ἀδόλως καὶ οὐ παραβήσομαι τέχνῃ οὐδὲ

μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ. ὀμνύντων δὲ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἡ
βουλὴ καὶ αἱ ἔνδημοι ἀρχαί, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ
11 πρυτάνεις· ἐν Ἄργει δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα
καὶ [1]αἱ ἀρτῦναι, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα· ἐν
δὲ Μαντινείᾳ οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ
ἄλλαι ἀρχαί, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ θεωροὶ καὶ οἱ πολέ-
μαρχοι· ἐν δὲ Ἤλιδι οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ τέλη
ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι, ἐξορκούντων δὲ οἱ δη-
12 μιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ θεσμοφύλακες. ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ
τοὺς ὅρκους Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἰόντας ἐς Ἦλιν καὶ ἐς
Μαντίνειαν καὶ ἐς Ἄργος τριάκοντα ἡμέραις πρὸ
Ὀλυμπίων, Ἀργείους δὲ καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ Μαν-
τινέας ἰόντας Ἀθήναζε δέκα ἡμέραις πρὸ Παναθη-
13 ναίων τῶν μεγάλων. τὰς δὲ ξυνθήκας τὰς περὶ
τῶν σπονδῶν καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας
ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐν
πόλει, Ἀργείους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ
ἱερῷ, Μαντινέας δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ
ἀγορᾷ· καταθέντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι στήλην
χαλκῆν κοινῇ Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς νυνί. ἐὰν δέ τι
δοκῇ ἄμεινον εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις προσθεῖναι
πρὸς τοῖς ξυγκειμένοις, ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ ταῖς πόλεσιν
ἁπάσαις κοινῇ βουλευομέναις, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.

48 Αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ αἱ ξυμμαχίαι οὕτως ἐγένοντο,
καὶ αἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων
οὐκ ἀπείρηντο τούτου ἕνεκα οὐδ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἑτέ-
ρων. Κορίνθιοι δέ, Ἀργείων ὄντες ξύμ-
μαχοι, οὐκ ἐσῆλθον ἐς αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
γενομένης πρὸ τούτου Ἠλείοις καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ
Μαντινεῦσι ξυμμαχίας τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ

The Corinthians refuse to join, and incline towards Sparta.

[1] οἱ

εἰρήνην ἄγειν, οὐ ξυνώμοσαν, ἀρκεῖν δ' ἔφασαν σφίσι τὴν πρώτην γενομένην ἐπιμαχίαν, ἀλλήλοις βοηθεῖν, ξυνεπιστρατεύειν δὲ μηδενί. οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι οὕτως ἀπέστησαν τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν τὴν γνώμην εἶχον.

Exclusion of the Lacedaemonians from the Olympian festival.

49 Ὀλύμπια δ' ἐγένετο τοῦ θέρους τούτου, οἷς Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀρκὰς παγκράτιον τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίκα· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων εἵρχθησαν ὥστε μὴ θύειν μηδ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐκτίνοντες τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ νόμῳ Ἠλεῖοι κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν, φάσκοντες (ἐς) σφᾶς ἐπὶ Φύρκον τε τεῖχος ὅπλα ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐς Λέπρεον αὐτῶν ὁπλίτας ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς σπονδαῖς ἐσπέμψαι.
2 ἡ δὲ καταδίκη δισχίλιαι μναῖ ἦσαν, κατὰ τὸν ὁπλίτην ἕκαστον δύο μναῖ, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἔχει. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφῶν καταδεδικάσθαι, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλθαι πω ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τὰς σπονδάς, ὅτ'
3 ἐσέπεμψαν τοὺς ὁπλίτας. Ἠλεῖοι δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεχειρίαν ἤδη ἔφασαν εἶναι—πρώτοις γὰρ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγέλλουσιν—καὶ ἡσυχαζόντων σφῶν καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων, ὡς ἐν σπονδαῖς, αὐτοὺς λαθεῖν ἀδικήσαντας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπελάμβανον οὐ χρεὼν εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐπαγγεῖλαι ἔτι ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, εἰ ἀδικεῖν γε ἤδη ἐνόμιζον αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς νομίζοντας τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, καὶ ὅπλα
4 οὐδαμόσε ἔτι αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν. Ἠλεῖοι δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου εἴχοντο, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι μὴ ἂν

πεισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ βούλονται σφίσι Λέπρεον ἀποδοῦναι, τό τε αὑτῶν μέρος ἀφιέναι τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ ὃ
50 τῷ θεῷ γίγνεται αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐκτίσειν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουον, αὖθις τάδε ἠξίουν, Λέπρεον μὲν μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βούλονται, ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀπομόσαι ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦ μὴν ἀποδώσειν ὕστερον τὴν καταδίκην.
2 ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἤθελον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἴργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ, θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων, καὶ οἴκοι ἔθυον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐθεώρουν πλὴν Λεπρεατῶν. ὅμως δὲ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι δεδιότες μὴ βίᾳ θύσωσι, ξὺν ὅπλοις τῶν νεωτέρων φυλακὴν εἶχον· ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς, χίλιοι ἑκατέρων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἱππῆς, οἳ ἐν Ἄργει ὑπέμενον τὴν
3 ἑορτήν. δέος δ' ἐγένετο τῇ πανηγύρει μέγα μὴ ξὺν ὅπλοις ἔλθωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου, Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδούχων πληγὰς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι νικῶντος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ζεύγους καὶ ἀνακηρυχθέντος Βοιωτῶν δημοσίου κατὰ τὴν οὐκ ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀγωνίσεως, προελθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνέδησε τὸν ἡνίοχον, βουλόμενος δηλῶσαι ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ ἦν τὸ ἅρμα· ὥστε πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐπεφόβηντο πάντες
4 καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡσύχασάν τε καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ αὐτοῖς οὕτω διῆλθεν. ἐς δὲ Κόρινθον μετὰ τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀφίκοντο δεησόμενοι αὐτῶν παρὰ σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἔτυχον παρόντες, καὶ πολλῶν λόγων γενομένων τέλος

οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ σεισμοῦ γενομένου διελύθησαν ἕκαστοι ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

Heraclea in Trachis attacked by the neighbouring tribes.

51 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἡρακλεώταις τοῖς ἐν Τραχῖνι μάχη ἐγένετο πρὸς Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τινας. προσοικοῦντα γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα τῇ πόλει πολέμια ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ
2 γῇ ἢ τῇ τούτων τὸ χωρίον ἐτειχίσθη. καὶ εὐθύς τε καθισταμένῃ τῇ πόλει ἠναντιοῦντο, ἐς ὅσον ἐδύναντο φθείροντες, καὶ τότε τῇ μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας, καὶ Ξενάρης ὁ Κνίδιος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων αὐτῶν ἀπέθανε, διεφθάρησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα καὶ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

B.C. 419. Heraclea occupied by the Boeotians. Alcibiades goes into Peloponnesus.

52 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν μάχην κακῶς ἐφθείρετο, Βοιωτοὶ παρέλαβον, καὶ Ἡγησιππίδαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἄρχοντα ἐξέπεμψαν. δείσαντες δὲ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον θορυβουμένων Ἀθηναῖοι λάβωσιν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ὠργίζοντο αὐτοῖς.

2 Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων, Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ξυμπρασσόντων, ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον μετ' ὀλίγων Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβών, τά τε ἄλλα ξυγκαθίστη περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν διαπορευόμενος Πελοπόννησον τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ Πατρέας τε τείχη καθεῖναι ἔπεισεν ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕτερον διενοεῖτο

τειχίσαι ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ. Κορίνθιοι δὲ
καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ οἷς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ τειχισθὲν
βοηθήσαντες διεκώλυσαν.

Quarrel between Argos and Epidaurus.

53 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἐπιδαυρίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις
πόλεμος ἐγένετο, προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ
θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαέως, ὃ
δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ
βοταμίων Ἐπιδαύριοι —κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
2 ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι —ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν
Ἐπίδαυρον τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις
προσλαβεῖν, ἢν δύνωνται, τῆς τε Κορίνθου ἕνεκα
ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης βραχυτέραν ἔσεσθαι
τὴν βοήθειαν ἢ Σκύλλαιον περιπλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναί-
οις. παρεσκευάζοντο οὖν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐς
τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν
54 ἐσβαλοῦντες. ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πανδημεὶ
ἐς Λεῦκτρα τῆς ἑαυτῶν μεθορίας πρὸς τὸ
Λύκαιον, Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασι-
λέως ἡγουμένου· ᾔδει δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅποι στρατεύουσιν,
2 οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν. ὡς δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ
διαβατήρια θυομένοις οὐ προὐχώρει, αὐτοί τε
ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις περιήγγει-
λαν μετὰ τὸν μέλλοντα —Καρνεῖος δ' ἦν μήν, ἱερο-
μήνια Δωριεῦσι —παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς στρατευ-
3 σομένους. Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν τοῦ
πρὸ τοῦ Καρνείου μηνὸς ἐξελθόντες τετράδι φθί-
νοντος, καὶ ἄγοντες τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην πάντα τὸν
χρόνον, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν καὶ ἐδῄουν.
Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπεκαλοῦντο· ὧν

The Argives invade the territory of Epidaurus.

τινες οἱ μὲν τὸν μῆνα προὐφασίσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς
55 μεθορίαν τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐλθόντες ἡσύχαζον. καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν ἐς Μαντίνειαν πρεσβεῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυνῆλθον, Ἀθηναίων παρακαλεσάντων. καὶ γιγνομένων λόγων Εὐφαμίδας ὁ Κορίνθιος οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογεῖν· σφεῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ εἰρήνης ξυγκαθῆσθαι, τοὺς δ' Ἐπιδαυρίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους μεθ' ὅπλων ἀντιτετάχθαι·
2 διαλῦσαι οὖν πρῶτον χρῆναι ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἐλθόντας τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ οὕτω πάλιν λέγειν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. καὶ πεισθέντες ᾤχοντο καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ξυνελθόντες οὐδ' ὣς ἐδυνήθησαν ξυμβῆναι,
3 ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἐσέβαλον καὶ ἐδῄουν. ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Καρύας, καὶ ὡς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ διαβατήρια αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐπανεχώρησαν. Ἀργεῖοι δέ, τεμόντες τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ὡς τὸ τρίτον μέρος, ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοῖς χίλιοι ἐβοήθησαν ὁπλῖται καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης στρατηγός πυθόμενοι[1] τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτῶν ἔδει, ἀπῆλθον. καὶ τὸ θέρος οὕτω διῆλθεν.

56 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι, λαθόντες Ἀθηναίους, φρουρούς τε τριακοσίους καὶ Ἀγησιππίδαν ἄρχοντα κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐσέπεμψαν.
2 Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐλθόντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐπεκάλουν ὅτι, γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν

Desultory warfare between Argos and Epidaurus.

[1] δὲ

ἑκάστους μὴ ἐᾶν πολεμίους διϊέναι, ἐάσειαν κατὰ
θάλασσαν παραπλεῦσαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνοι ἐς
Πύλον κομιοῦσιν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς Μεσση-
3 νίους καὶ Εἵλωτας, ἀδικήσεσθαι αὐτοί. Ἀθηναῖοι
δέ, Ἀλκιβιάδου πείσαντος, τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ
στήλῃ ὑπέγραψαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι τοῖς ὅρκοις, ἐς δὲ Πύλον ἐκόμισαν τοὺς ἐκ
Κρανίων Εἵλωτας λῃΐζεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἡσύχαζον.
4 τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα τοῦτον πολεμούντων Ἀργείων καὶ
Ἐπιδαυρίων μάχη μὲν οὐδεμία ἐγένετο ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς, ἐνέδραι δὲ καὶ καταδρομαί, ἐν αἷς ὡς
5 τύχοιεν ἑκατέρων τινὲς διεφθείροντο· καὶ τελευ-
τῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος πρὸς ἔαρ ἤδη κλίμακας ἔχον-
τες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον, ὡς
ἐρήμου οὔσης διὰ τὸν πόλεμον βίᾳ αἱρήσοντες·
καὶ ἄπρακτοι ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα
καὶ τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

B.C. 418. The Lacedaemonians under Agis invade Argolis in full force.

57 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους μεσοῦντος Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἵ τε Ἐπιδαύριοι
ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἐταλαιπώρουν καὶ τἆλλα
ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τὰ μὲν ἀφειστήκει τὰ
δ' οὐ καλῶς εἶχεν, νομίσαντες, εἰ μὴ προ-
καταλήψονται ἐν τάχει, ἐπὶ πλέον χωρήσεσθαι
αὐτά, ἐστράτευον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Εἵλωτες πανδημεὶ
ἐπ' Ἄργος· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἆγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακε-
2 δαιμονίων βασιλεύς. ξυνεστράτευον δ' αὐτοῖς
Τεγεᾶται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδων Λακεδαιμονίοις
ξύμμαχοι ἦσαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Πελοποννήσου
ξύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ἐς Φλιοῦντα ξυνελέγοντο,
Βοιωτοὶ μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ τοσοῦτοι

ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππῆς πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἅμιπποι ἴσοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ δισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡς ἕκαστοι, Φλιάσιοι δὲ πανστρατιᾷ· ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἦν τὸ στράτευμα.

Movements of Agis and his allies.

58 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαισθόμενοι [1]τό τε πρῶτον τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν Φλιοῦντα βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἄλλοις προσμῖξαι ἐχώρουν, τότε δὴ ἐξεστράτευσαν καὶ αὐτοί· ἐβοήθησαν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Μαντινῆς ἔχοντες τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἠλείων
2 τρισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται. καὶ προϊόντες ἀπαντῶσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν ἑκάτεροι λόφον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι ὡς μεμονωμένοις τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις παρεσκευάζοντο μάχεσθαι, ὁ δὲ Ἆγις τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ λαθὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς
3 Φλιοῦντα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους. καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἅμα ἕῳ ἐχώρουν πρῶτον μὲν ἐς Ἄργος, ἔπειτα ᾗ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων καταβήσεσθαι, τὴν κατὰ Νεμέαν ὁδόν. Ἆγις δὲ ταύτην μέν, ἣν προσεδέχοντο, οὐκ ἐτράπετο, παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀρκάσι καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἄλλην ἐχώρησε χαλεπήν, καὶ κατέβη ἐς τὸ Ἀρ-
4 γείων πεδίον· καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς καὶ Φλιάσιοι [2]ὄρθιον ἑτέραν ἐπορεύοντο· τοῖς δὲ Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Σικυωνίοις εἴρητο τὴν ἐπὶ Νεμέας ὁδὸν καταβαίνειν, ᾗ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐκάθηντο, ὅπως, εἰ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον βοηθοῖεν, ἐφεπόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις χρῷντο.

[1] τότε [2] ὄρθριοι

An engagement imminent. Two Argive citizens negotiate with Agis.

59 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διατάξας καὶ ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὸ
πεδίον ἐδῄου Σάμινθόν τε καὶ ἄλλα· οἱ
δὲ Ἀργεῖοι γνόντες ἐβοήθουν ἡμέρας ἤδη
ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ περιτυχόντες τῷ
Φλιασίων καὶ Κορινθίων στρατοπέδῳ
τῶν μὲν Φλιασίων ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
Κορινθίων αὐτοὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλείους διεφθάρησαν.
2 καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ οἱ Μεγαρῆς καὶ οἱ Σικυώνιοι
ἐχώρουν, ὥσπερ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τῆς Νεμέας, καὶ
τοὺς Ἀργείους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ καταβάν-
τες, ὡς ἑώρων τὰ ἑαυτῶν δῃούμενα, ἐς μάχην παρε-
τάσσοντο. ἀντιπαρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακε-
3 δαιμόνιοι. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπειλημμένοι ἦσαν οἱ
Ἀργεῖοι· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
εἶργον τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, καθύπερθεν
δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς, τὸ δὲ
πρὸς Νεμέας Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς.
ἵπποι δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ παρῆσαν· οὐ γάρ πω οἱ Ἀθη-
4 ναῖοι μόνοι τῶν ξυμμάχων ἧκον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆ-
θος τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων οὐχ οὕτω
δεινὸν τὸ παρὸν ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν καλῷ ἐδόκει ἡ
μάχη ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπειληφέ-
5 ναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει. τῶν δὲ
Ἀργείων δύο ἄνδρες, Θράσυλλός τε, τῶν πέντε
στρατηγῶν εἷς ὤν, καὶ Ἀλκίφρων, πρόξενος Λακε-
δαιμονίων, ἤδη τῶν στρατοπέδων ὅσον οὐ ξυνιόντων
προσελθόντες Ἄγιδι διελεγέσθην μὴ ποιεῖν μάχην·
ἑτοίμους γὰρ εἶναι Ἀργείους δίκας δοῦναι καὶ
δέξασθαι ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας, εἴ τι ἐπικαλοῦσιν
Ἀργείοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνην

Agis grants a truce and withdraws his army. Disgust of both sides at the arrangement.

60 ἄγειν σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα
εἰπόντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ
οὐ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύσαντος εἶπον· καὶ
ὁ Ἆγις δεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτός,
καὶ οὐ μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς
βουλευσάμενος ἀλλ' ἢ ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ κοινώσας
τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρατευομένων, σπένδεται τέσσα-
ρας μῆνας ἐν οἷς ἔδει ἐπιτελέσαι αὐτοὺς τὰ ῥηθέντα.
2 καὶ ἀπήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν εὐθύς, οὐδενὶ φράσας
τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι εἵποντο μὲν ὡς ἡγεῖτο διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐν
αἰτίᾳ δ' εἶχον κατ' ἀλλήλους πολλῇ τὸν Ἆγιν,
νομίζοντες ἐν καλῷ παρατυχὸν σφίσι ξυμβαλεῖν
καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῶν ἀποκεκλῃμένων καὶ ὑπὸ
ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν οὐδὲν δράσαντες ἄξιον τῆς
3 παρασκευῆς ἀπιέναι. στρατόπεδον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο
κάλλιστον Ἑλληνικὸν τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε ξυνῆλθεν·
ὤφθη δὲ μάλιστα ἕως ἔτι ἦν ἀθρόον ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ἐν
ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε πανστρατιᾷ ἦσαν καὶ Ἀρκά-
δες καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ
Πελληνῆς καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, καὶ οὗτοι
πάντες λογάδες ἀφ' ἑκάστων, ἀξιόμαχοι δοκοῦντες
εἶναι οὐ τῇ Ἀργείων μόνον ξυμμαχίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ
4 ἄλλῃ ἔτι προσγενομένῃ. τὸ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδον
οὕτως ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἔχοντες τὸν Ἆγιν ἀνεχώρουν τε καὶ
διελύθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἕκαστοι· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἔτι ἐν πολλῷ πλείονι αἰτίᾳ εἶχον τοὺς σπει-
σαμένους ἄνευ τοῦ πλήθους, νομίζοντες κἀκεῖνοι
μὴ ἂν σφίσι ποτὲ κάλλιον παρασχὸν Λακεδαιμο-
5 νίους διαπεφευγέναι· πρός τε γὰρ τῇ σφετέρᾳ

πόλει καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἂν γίγνεσθαι. τόν τε Θράσυλλον ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ, οὗπερ τὰς ἀπὸ στρατείας δίκας πρὶν ἐσιέναι κρίνουσιν, ἤρξαντο λεύειν. ὁ δὲ καταφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν περιγίγνεται· τὰ μέντοι χρήματα ἐδήμευσαν αὐτοῦ.

The Athenians and allies invade Arcadia and reduce Orchomenos.

61 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθηναίων βοηθησάντων χιλίων
ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων, ὧν
ἐστρατήγουν Λάχης καὶ Νικόστρατος, οἱ
Ἀργεῖοι—ὅμως γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς ὤκνουν
λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους—ἀπιέ-
ναι ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οὐ προσ-
ῆγον βουλομένους χρηματίσαι, πρὶν ἤ Μαντινῆς
καὶ Ἠλεῖοι, ἔτι γὰρ παρῆσαν, κατηνάγκασαν δεό-
2 μενοι. καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀλκιβιάδου πρεσ-
βευτοῦ παρόντος, ἔν τε τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ ξυμμά-
χοις ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς αἱ σπονδαὶ ἄνευ τῶν
ἄλλων ξυμμάχων καὶ γένοιντο, καὶ νῦν, ἐν καιρῷ
γὰρ παρεῖναι σφεῖς, ἅπτεσθαι χρῆναι τοῦ πολέμου.
3 καὶ πείσαντες ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ξυμμάχους εὐθὺς
ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Ὀρχομενὸν τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν πάντες
πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ὅμως καὶ πεισθέντες
ὑπελείποντο πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δ' ὕστερον καὶ οὗτοι
ἦλθον. καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν
πάντες ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο,
βουλόμενοι ἄλλως τε προσγενέσθαι σφίσι καὶ
ὅμηροι ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἦσαν αὐτόθι ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-
4 μονίων κείμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι δείσαντες τήν
τε τοῦ τείχους ἀσθένειαν καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆ-
θος καὶ ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, μὴ προαπόλων-

ται, ξυνέβησαν ὥστε ξύμμαχοί τε εἶναι καὶ
ὁμήρους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν δοῦναι Μαντινεῦσι καὶ
62 οὓς κατέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι παραδοῦναι. μετὰ
δὲ τοῦτο ἔχοντες ἤδη τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν
ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐφ' ὅ τι χρὴ
πρῶτον ἰέναι τῶν λοιπῶν. καὶ Ἠλεῖοι μὲν ἐπὶ
Λέπρεον ἐκέλευον, Μαντινῆς δὲ ἐπὶ Τεγέαν· καὶ
προσέθεντο οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Μαντι-
2 νεῦσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἠλεῖοι ὀργισθέντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ
Λέπρεον ἐψηφίσαντο ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, οἱ δὲ
ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ
ὡς ἐπὶ Τέγεαν ἰόντες. καί τινες αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτῶν
Τεγεατῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδίδοσαν τὰ πράγματα.

They prepare to attack Tegea.

63 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ Ἄργους
τὰς τετραμήνους σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι,
Ἆγιν ἐν μεγάλῃ αἰτίᾳ εἶχον οὐ χειρωσά-
μενον σφίσιν Ἄργος, παρασχὸν καλῶς
ὡς οὔπω πρότερον αὐτοὶ ἐνόμιζον· ἀθρόους γὰρ
τοσούτους ξυμμάχους καὶ τοιούτους οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι
2 λαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ ἠγγέλλετο
ἑαλωκέναι, πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ
ἐβούλευον εὐθὺς ὑπ' ὀργῆς παρὰ τὸν τρόπον τὸν
ἑαυτῶν, ὡς χρὴ τήν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαι
3 καὶ δέκα μυριάσι δραχμῶν ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ παρῃ-
τεῖτο μηδὲν τούτων δρᾶν, ἔργῳ γὰρ ἀγαθῷ ῥύσεσθαι
τὰς αἰτίας στρατευσάμενος, ἢ τότε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ
τι βούλονται. οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ζημίαν καὶ τὴν κατα-
σκαφὴν ἐπέσχον, νόμον δὲ ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι,
ὃς οὔπω πρότερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς· δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας
Σπαρτιατῶν προσείλοντο αὐτῷ ξυμβούλους, ἄνευ

Proceedings at Lacedaemon in respect of Agis.

ὧν μὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπάγειν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς
64 πόλεως. ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἀφικνεῖται αὐτοῖς
ἀγγελία παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ Τεγέας
ὅτι, εἰ μὴ παρέσονται ἐν τάχει, ἀποστή-
σεται αὐτῶν Τέγεα πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ
τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἀφέστηκεν.

The Lacedaemonians invade the territory of Mantinea, hearing of the attack on Tegea.

ἐνταῦθα δὴ βοήθεια τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεται
αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Εἱλώτων πανδημεὶ ὀξεῖα καὶ οἵα
οὔπω πρότερον. ἐχώρουν δὲ ἐς Ὀρέσθειον τῆς
2 Μαιναλίας· καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀρκάδων σφετέροις οὖσι
ξυμμάχοις προεῖπον ἀθροισθεῖσιν ἰέναι κατὰ πόδας
αὐτῶν ἐς Τέγεαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ὀρεσ-
θείου πάντες ἐλθόντες, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τὸ ἕκτον μέρος
σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀποπέμψαντες ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐν ᾧ τὸ
πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ τὸ νεώτερον ἦν, ὥστε τὰ οἴκοι
φρουρεῖν, τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς
3 Τέγεαν. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀπ'
Ἀρκάδων παρῆσαν. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν
Κόρινθον καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας καὶ Λοκρούς,
βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μαντίνειαν.
ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγου τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιον
ἦν μὴ ἀθρόοις καὶ ἀλλήλους περιμείνασι διελθεῖν
τὴν πολεμίαν· ξυνέκληε γὰρ διὰ μέσου· ὅμως δὲ
4 ἠπείγοντο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς
παρόντας Ἀρκάδων ξυμμάχους ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν
Μαντινικήν, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τῷ
Ἡρακλείῳ ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν.

65 Οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς,
καταλαβόντες χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δυσπρόσοδον
παρετάξαντο ὡς ἐς μάχην. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

Battle declined by Agis, who draws the enemy from their position.

2 εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπῄεσαν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν λίθου καὶ ἀκοντίου βολῆς ἐχώρησαν, ἔπειτα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις Ἄγιδι ἐπεβόησεν, ὁρῶν πρὸς χωρίον καρτερὸν ἰόντας σφᾶς, ὅτι διανοεῖται κακὸν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι, δηλῶν τῆς ἐξ Ἄργους ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἄκαιρον προθυμίαν ἀνάληψιν βουλομένην εἶναι.
3 ὁ δέ, εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο τι ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἐξαίφνης πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος πρὶν ξυμμῖξαι ἀπῆγεν. καὶ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὴν Τεγεᾶτιν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν ἐς τὴν Μαντινικήν, περὶ οὗπερ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ βλάπτοντος ὁποτέρωσε ἂν ἐσπίπτῃ Μαντινῆς καὶ Τεγεᾶται πολεμοῦσιν.
4 ἐβούλετο δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βοηθοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκτροπήν, ἐπειδὰν πύθωνται, καταβιβάσαι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.
5 καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην μείνας αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν· οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταπλαγέντες τῇ ἐξ ὀλίγου αἰφνιδίῳ
6 αὐτῶν ἀναχωρήσει οὐκ εἶχον ὅ τι εἰκάσωσιν· εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκεῖνοί τε ἀπέκρυψαν καὶ σφεῖς ἡσύχαζον καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατηγοὺς αὖθις ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον, τό τε πρότερον καλῶς ληφθέντας πρὸς Ἄργει Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφεθῆναι, καὶ νῦν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκοντας οὐδεὶς ἐπιδιώκει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν οἱ μὲν σώζονται σφεῖς δὲ προδίδονται.
7 οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐθορυβήθησαν μὲν τὸ παραυτίκα, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καὶ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ

ὁμαλὸν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ὡς ἰόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους.

66 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι
ξυνετάξαντο, ὡς ἔμελλον μαχεῖσθαι, ἢν
περιτύχωσιν· οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπὸ
τοῦ ὕδατος πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον πάλιν ἐς
τὸ αὐτὸ στρατόπεδον ἰόντες ὁρῶσι δι' ὀλίγου τοὺς
ἐναντίους ἐν τάξει τε ἤδη πάντας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
λόφου προεληλυθότας. μάλιστα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
ἐς ὃ ἐμέμνηντο, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν.
2 διὰ βραχείας γὰρ μελλήσεως ἡ παρασκευὴ αὐτοῖς
ἐγίγνετο, καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς
κόσμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, Ἄγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἕκαστα
3 ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ τὸν νόμον. βασιλέως γὰρ
ἄγοντος ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντα ἄρχεται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
πολεμάρχοις αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς λοχα-
γοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς πεντηκοντῆρσιν, αὖθις δ' οὗτοι
τοῖς ἐνωμοτάρχαις καὶ οὗτοι τῇ ἐνωμοτίᾳ. καὶ αἱ
παραγγέλσεις, ἤν τι βούλωνται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
χωροῦσι καὶ ταχεῖαι ἐπέρχονται· σχεδὸν γάρ τι
πᾶν πλὴν ὀλίγου τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἄρχοντες ἀρχόντων εἰσί, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς
67 τοῦ δρωμένου πολλοῖς προσήκει. τότε δὲ κέρας
μὲν εὐώνυμον Σκιρῖται αὐτοῖς καθίσ-
ταντο, ἀεὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μόνοι Λακε-
δαιμονίων ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες· παρὰ δ' αὐτοῖς
οἱ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Βρασίδειοι στρατιῶται καὶ νεοδα-
2 μώδεις μετ' αὐτῶν· ἔπειτ' ἤδη Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὶ
ἑξῆς καθίστασαν τοὺς λόχους καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρ-
κάδων Ἡραιῆς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μαινάλιοι, καὶ

Engagement imminent. Lacedaemonian formation.

Order of battle on both sides.

ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ Τεγεᾶται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὀλίγοι, τὸ ἔσχατον ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς αὐτῶν ἐφ'
3 ἑκατέρῳ τῷ κέρᾳ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὕτως ἐτάξαντο· οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας Μαντινῆς εἶχον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο, παρὰ δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν, ἔπειτα Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον δημοσίᾳ παρεῖχεν, καὶ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, Κλεωναῖοι καὶ Ὀρνεᾶται, ἔπειτα Ἀθηναῖοι ἔσχατοι τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχοντες καὶ ἱππῆς μετ' αὐτῶν οἱ οἰκεῖοι.

68 Τάξις μὲν ἥδε καὶ παρασκευὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἦν, τὸ

Rough computation of the numbers.

δὲ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μεῖζον ἐφάνη. ἀριθμὸν δὲ γράψαι, ἢ καθ' ἑκάστους ἑκατέρων ἢ ξύμπαντας, οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην ἀκριβῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων πλῆθος διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτὸν ἠγνοεῖτο, τῶν δ' αὖ διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπῶδες ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα πλήθη ἠπισ-
2 τεῖτο. ἐκ μέντοι τοιοῦδε λογισμοῦ ἔξεστί τῳ σκοπεῖν τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τότε παραγενόμενον πλῆθος. λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ἑπτὰ ἄνευ Σκιριτῶν, ὄντων ἑξακοσίων, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστῳ λόχῳ πεντηκοστύες ἦσαν τέσσαρες καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστύϊ
3 ἐνωμοτίαι τέσσαρες, τῆς τε ἐνωμοτίας ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ζυγῷ τέσσαρες· ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος ἐτάξαντο μὲν οὐ πάντες ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ πᾶν δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. παρὰ δὲ ἅπαν πλὴν Σκιριτῶν τετρακόσιοι καὶ δυοῖν δέοντες πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἦν.

69 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνιέναι ἔμελλον ἤδη, ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραινέσεις καθ' ἑκάστους ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατηγῶν τοιαίδε ἐγίγνοντο, Μαντινεῦσι μὲν ὅτι ὑπέρ τε πατρίδος ἡ μάχη ἔσται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἅμα καὶ δουλείας, τὴν μὲν μὴ πειρασαμένοις ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τῆς δὲ μὴ αὖθις πειρᾶσθαι· 2 Ἀργείοις δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τε παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτὲ ἰσομοιρίας μὴ διὰ παντὸς στερισκομένους ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἅμα ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἀστυγείτονας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀμύνασθαι· τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καλὸν εἶναι μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ξυμμάχων ἀγωνιζομένους μηδενὸς λείπεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους νικήσαντες τήν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιοτέραν καὶ μείζω ἕξουσιν, καὶ οὐ μή ποτέ τις αὐτοῖς 3 ἄλλος ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔλθῃ. τοῖς μὲν Ἀργείοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις τοιαῦτα παρῃνέθη, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἠπίσταντο τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰδότες ἔργων ἐκ πολλοῦ μελέτην πλείω σῴζουσαν ἢ λόγων δι' ὀλίγου καλῶς ῥηθεῖσαν παραίνεσιν.

Addresses of the generals.

70 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν [1] νόμῳ ἐγκαθεστώτων, οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες προέλθοιεν καὶ μὴ διασπασθείη αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἐν ταῖς προσόδοις ποιεῖν.

Battle of MANTINEA. Victory of the Spartans.

[1] νόμου

71 Ξυνιόντων δ' ἔτι Ἆγις ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιόνδε
ἐβουλεύσατο δρᾶσαι. τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ μὲν
καὶ ἅπαντα τοῦτο· ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ κέρατα αὑτῶν ἐν
ταῖς ξυνόδοις μᾶλλον ἐξωθεῖται, καὶ περιίσχουσι
κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐώνυμον ἀμφότεροι τῷ
δεξιῷ, διὰ τὸ φοβουμένους προστέλλειν τὰ γυμνὰ
ἕκαστον ὡς μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρατεταγ-
μένου ἀσπίδι, καὶ νομίζειν τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ξυγ-
2 κλήσεως εὐσκεπαστότατον εἶναι· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν
τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως,
προθυμούμενος ἐξαλλάσσειν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ γύμνωσιν, ἕπονται δὲ διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ τότε περιέσχον μὲν οἱ Μαντι-
νῆς πολὺ τῷ κέρᾳ τῶν Σκιριτῶν, ἔτι δὲ πλέον οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεᾶται τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅσῳ
3 μεῖζον τὸ στράτευμα εἶχον. δείσας δὲ Ἆγις μὴ
σφῶν κυκλωθῇ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ νομίσας ἄγαν
περιέχειν τοὺς Μαντινέας, τοῖς μὲν Σκιρίταις καὶ
Βρασιδείοις ἐσήμηνεν ἐπεξαγαγόντας ἀπὸ σφῶν
ἐξισῶσαι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, ἐς δὲ τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο
παρήγγελλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως δύο λόχους τῶν
πολεμάρχων Ἱππονοΐδᾳ καὶ Ἀριστοκλεῖ ἔχουσι
παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐσβαλόντας πληρῶσαι, νομίζων τῷ
θ' ἑαυτῶν δεξιῷ ἔτι περιουσίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὸ
κατὰ τοὺς Μαντινέας βεβαιότερον τετάξεσθαι.
72 ξυνέβη οὖν αὐτῷ, ἅτε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐφόδῳ καὶ ἐξ
ὀλίγου παραγγείλαντι, τόν τε Ἀριστοκλέα καὶ τὸν
Ἱππονοΐδαν μὴ θελῆσαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο τὸ αἰτίαμα ὕστερον φεύγειν ἐκ Σπάρτης,
δόξαντας μαλακισθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους φθάσαι

τῇ προσμίξει, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τοὺς
Σκιρίτας ὡς οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι, πάλιν αὖ
σφίσι προσμῖξαι, μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἔτι μηδὲ τούτους
2 ξυγκλῇσαι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ
ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε τῇ
ἀνδρίᾳ ἔδειξαν οὐχ ἧσσον περιγενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ ἐν χερσὶν ἐγίγνοντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τὸ μὲν τῶν
Μαντινέων δεξιὸν τρέπει αὐτῶν τοὺς Σκιρίτας καὶ
τοὺς Βρασιδείους, καὶ ἐσπεσόντες οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ
οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι
λογάδες κατὰ τὸ διάκενον καὶ οὐ ξυγκλῃσθὲν τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους διέφθειρον καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι
ἔτρεψαν καὶ ἐξέωσαν ἐς τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων ἀπέκτεινάν
3 τινας. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἡσσῶντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι·
τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ μέσῳ,
ᾗπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἆγις ἦν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τριακόσιοι ἱππῆς καλούμενοι, προσπεσόντες τῶν τε
Ἀργείων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ πέντε λόχοις ὠνομασμένοις καὶ Κλεωναίοις καὶ Ὀρνεάταις καὶ
Ἀθηναίων τοῖς παρατεταγμένοις ἔτρεψαν οὐδὲ ἐς
χεῖρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομείναντας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπῄεσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ἐνδόντας καὶ ἔστιν
οὓς καὶ καταπατηθέντας τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν.
73 ὡς δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνεδεδώκει τὸ τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ ξυμμάχων στράτευμα, παρερρήγνυντο
ἤδη ἅμα καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα, καὶ ἅμα τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Τεγεατῶν ἐκυκλοῦτο τῷ περιέχοντι σφῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κίνδυνος περιειστήκει, τῇ μὲν κυκλουμένους τῇ

2 δὲ ἤδη ἡσσημένους. καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐταλαιπώρησαν, εἰ μὴ οἱ ἱππῆς παρόντες αὐτοῖς ὠφέλιμοι ἦσαν. καὶ ξυνέβη τὸν Ἆγιν, ὡς ᾔσθετο τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν πονοῦν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Μαντινέας καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς χιλίους, παραγγεῖλαι παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι χωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸ
3 νικώμενον. καὶ γενομένου τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς παρῆλθε καὶ ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ σφῶν τὸ στράτευμα, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐσώθησαν καὶ τῶν Ἀρ-
4 γείων μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἡσσηθέν· οἱ δὲ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ λογάδες οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸ ἐγκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὁρῶντες τούς τε σφετέρους νενικημένους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπιφερομένους ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρά-
5 ποντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν Μαντινέων καὶ πλείους διεφθάρησαν, τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων λογάδων τὸ πολὺ ἐσώθη. ἡ μέντοι φυγὴ καὶ ἀποχώρησις οὐ βίαιος οὐδὲ μακρὰ ἦν· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ τρέψαι χρονίους τὰς μάχας καὶ βεβαίους τῷ μένειν ποιοῦνται, τρέψαντες δὲ βραχείας καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰς διώξεις.

74 Καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη τοιαύτη καὶ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων ἐγένετο, πλείστου δὴ χρόνου μεγίστη δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀξιολογωτάτων πόλεων ξυνελθοῦσα. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προθέμενοι τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν τὰ ὅπλα τροπαῖον εὐθὺς ἵστασαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευον καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνείλοντο καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Τέγεαν, οὗπερ ἐτάφησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόν-
2 δους ἀπέδοσαν. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ἀργείων μὲν καὶ

Loss on both sides.

Ὀρνεατῶν καὶ Κλεωναίων ἑπτακόσιοι, Μαντινέων δὲ διακόσιοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ξὺν Αἰγινήταις διακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀμφότεροι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ξύμμαχοι οὐκ ἐταλαιπώρησαν ὥστε καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι ἀπογενέσθαι· αὐτῶν δὲ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πυθέσθαι, ἐλέγοντο δὲ περὶ τριακοσίους ἀποθανεῖν.

Moral effect of the Spartan victory. The Athenians and allies attack Epidaurus.

75 Τῆς δὲ μάχης μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι καὶ Πλειστοάναξ ὁ ἕτερος βασιλεὺς ἔχων τούς τε πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους ἐβοήθησεν, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Τεγέας ἀφίκετο, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην ἀπεχώρησεν. καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ ἔξω Ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους
2 ἀπέστρεψαν πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφέντες, Κάρνεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον ὄντα, τὴν ἑορτὴν ἦγον. καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τότε ἐπιφερομένην αἰτίαν ἔς τε μαλακίαν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ξυμφορὰν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην ἀβουλίαν τε καὶ βραδυτῆτα ἑνὶ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπελύσαντο, τύχῃ μέν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, κακιζόμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες.

3 Τῇ δὲ προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ξυνέβη τῆς μάχης ταύτης καὶ τοὺς Ἐπιδαυρίους πανδημεὶ ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν ὡς ἐρῆμον οὖσαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους φύλακας τῶν Ἀργείων ἐξελθόντων [1]διαφθεῖραι
4 πολλούς. καὶ Ἠλείων τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν βοηθησάντων Μαντινεῦσιν ὕστερον τῆς μάχης καὶ Ἀθηναίων χιλίων πρὸς τοῖς προτέροις, ἐστράτευσαν ἅπαντες οἱ ξύμμαχοι οὗτοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Ἐπίδαυρον, ἕως οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κάρνεια ἦγον, καὶ διε-

[1] αὐτῶν

5 λόμενοι τὴν πόλιν περιετείχιζον. καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι ἐξεπαύσαντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, ὥσπερ προσε-
τάχθησαν, τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Ἡραῖον εὐθὺς ἐξειργά-
σαντο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκαταλιπόντες ἅπαντες
τῷ τειχίσματι φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησαν κατὰ πόλεις
ἕκαστοι. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

The Lacedaemonians offer terms to Argos.

76 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου εὐθὺς
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια
ἤγαγον, ἐξεστράτευσαν, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι
ἐς Τέγεαν λόγους προὔπεμπον ἐς τὸ
Ἄργος ξυμβατηρίους. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερόν
τε ἄνδρες ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τὸν δῆμον τὸν
ἐν Ἄργει καταλῦσαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη ἐγεγένητο,
πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐδύναντο πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς
2 τὴν ὁμολογίαν. ἐβούλοντο δὲ πρῶτον σπονδὰς
ποιήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, αὖθις ὕστε-
ρον καὶ ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ οὕτως ἤδη τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτί-
θεσθαι. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται πρόξενος ὢν Ἀργείων
Λίχας ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
δύο λόγω φέρων ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, τὸν μὲν καθ' ὅ τι εἰ
βούλονται πολεμεῖν, τὸν δ' ὡς εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν.
3 καὶ γενομένης πολλῆς ἀντιλογίας, ἔτυχε γὰρ καὶ ὁ
Ἀλκιβιάδης παρών, οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις πράσσοντες, ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τολ-
μῶντες, ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀργείους προσδέξασθαι τὸν
ξυμβατήριον λόγον. ἔστι δὲ ὅδε.

Terms of treaty between Lacedaemon and Argos.

77 Καττάδε δοκεῖ τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
ξυμβαλέσθαι ποττὼς Ἀργείως, ἀποδι-
δόντας τὼς παῖδας τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ
τὼς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις, καὶ τὼς ἄν-

δρας τὼς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀποδιδόντας, καὶ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρω ἐκβῶντας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος
2 ἀναιροῦντας. αἰ δέ κα μὴ εἴκωντι τοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρω, πολεμίους εἶμεν τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀργείων ξυμμάχοις. καὶ αἴ τινα τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παῖδα ἔχοντι, ἀποδόμεν ταῖς πολίεσι πάσαις. περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος εἶμεν λῆν τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον, δόμεν δὲ αὐτοὺς
3 ὀμόσαι. τὰς δὲ πόλιας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννάσῳ, καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας, αὐτονόμους εἶμεν πάσας καττὰ πάτρια. αἰ δέ κα τῶν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσου τις ἐπὶ τὰν Πελοπόννασον γᾶν ἴῃ ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἀλεξέμεναι ἁμόθι βουλευσαμένους, ὅπᾳ κα δικαιότατα
4 δοκῇ τοῖς Πελοποννασίοις. ὅσοι δ' ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσω τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοί ἐντι, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται ἐν τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοί ἐντι, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. ἐπιδείξαντας δὲ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ξυμβαλέσθαι, αἴ κα αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. αἰ δέ τι δοκῇ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οἴκαδ' ἀπιάλλην.

The Argives throw up the Athenian alliance, and contract an alliance with Sparta.

78 Τοῦτον μὲν τὸν λόγον προσεδέξαντο πρῶτον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ στράτευμα ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας ἐπ' οἴκου· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιμιξίας οὔσης ἤδη παρ' ἀλλήλους, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔπραξαν αὖθις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες ὥστε τὴν Μαντινέων καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἠλείων ξυμμαχίαν ἀφέντας Ἀργείους σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ ἐγένοντο αἵδε.

Terms and conditions of alliance between Lacedaemon and Argos.

79 Καττάδε ἔδοξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν εἶμεν πεντήκοντα ἔτη, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις δίκας διδόντας καττὰ πάτρια· ταὶ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες ταὶ ἐν Πελοποννάσῳ κοινανεόντων τᾶν σπονδᾶν καὶ τᾶν ξυμμαχιᾶν αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλιες, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καττὰ
2 πάτρια δίκας διδόντες τὰς ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας. ὅσοι δὲ ἔξω Πελοποννάσω Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμαχοί ἐντι ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐσσοῦνται τοῖσπερ καὶ τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· καὶ τοὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. αἰ δέ ποι στρατείας δέῃ κοινᾶς, βουλεύεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ Ἀργείως ὅπᾳ
3 κα δικαιότατα κρίναντας τοῖς ξυμμάχοις. αἰ δέ τινι τᾶν πολίων ᾖ ἀμφίλογα, ἢ τᾶν ἐντὸς ἢ τᾶν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσου, αἴτε περὶ ὅρων αἴτε περὶ ἄλλου τινός, διακριθῆμεν. αἰ δέ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων πόλις πόλει ἐρίζοι, ἐς πόλιν ἐλθεῖν ἄν τινα ἴσαν ἀμφοῖν ταῖς πολίεσι δοκείοι. [1]τὼς δ' ἔτας καττὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.

The allies make overtures to Perdiccas. The Athenians give up their works at Epidaurus.

80 Αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ ἡ ξυμμαχία αὕτη ἐγεγένητο· καὶ ὁπόσα ἀλλήλων πολέμῳ ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο εἶχον, διελύσαντο. κοινῇ δὲ ἤδη τὰ πράγματα τιθέμενοι ἐψηφίσαντο κήρυκα καὶ πρεσβείαν παρ' Ἀθηναίων μὴ προσδέχεσθαι, ἢν μὴ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐξίωσι τὰ τείχη ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ μὴ ξυμβαίνειν τῳ μηδὲ
2 πολεμεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ ἅμα. καὶ τά τε ἄλλα θυμῷ ἔφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία καὶ ὡς Περδίκ-

[1] τοῖς δὲ ἔταις

καν ἔπεμψαν ἀμφότεροι πρέσβεις, καὶ ἀνέπεισαν Περδίκκαν ξυνομόσαι σφίσιν. οὐ μέντοι εὐθύς γε ἀπέστη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ διενοεῖτο, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ἑώρα· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐξ Ἄργους. καὶ τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι τούς τε παλαιοὺς ὅρκους ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ ἄλλους ὤμοσαν.
3 ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πρέσβεις, τὸ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τεῖχος κελεύοντες ἐκλιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ὁρῶντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πλείους ὄντες τοὺς ξυμφύλακας ἔπεμψαν Δημοσθένην τοὺς σφετέρους ἐξάξοντα. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀγῶνά τινα πρόφασιν γυμνικὸν ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου ποιήσας, ὡς ἐξῆλθε τὸ ἄλλο [1] φρουρικόν, ἀπέκλησε τὰς πύλας· καὶ ὕστερον Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέδοσαν τὸ τεί-
81 χισμα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπόστασιν ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίας καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέχοντες, ἔπειτ' οὐ δυνάμενοι ἄνευ τῶν Ἀργείων, ξυνέβησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
2 ἀφεῖσαν τῶν πόλεων. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, χίλιοι ἑκάτεροι, ξυστρατεύσαντες, τά τ' ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον κατέστησαν αὐτοὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλθόντες καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ξυναμφότεροι ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἄργει δῆμον κατέλυσαν, καὶ ὀλιγαρχία ἐπιτηδεία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατέστη. καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ ἤδη ταῦτα ἦν τοῦ χειμῶνος λήγοντος, καὶ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

The allies effect an oligarchical revolution in Sicyon and Argos.

82 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Διῆς τε οἱ ἐν Ἄθῳ

[1] φρούριον

B.C. 417. Counter-revolution in Argos. Long walls begun.

ἀπέστησαν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Χαλκιδέας, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως πρότερον ἔχοντα καθίσταντο. καὶ Ἀργείων ὁ δῆμος κατ' ὀλίγον ξυνιστάμενός τε καὶ ἀναθαρσήσας ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τηρήσαντες αὐτὰς τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·
2 καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπεκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμποντο οἱ φίλοι, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐκ πλείονος, ἀναβαλόμενοι δὲ
3 τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἐβοήθουν. καὶ ἐν Τεγέᾳ πυθόμενοι ὅτι νενίκηνται οἱ ὀλίγοι, προελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι ἠθέλησαν δεομένων τῶν διαπεφευγότων, ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας ἦγον. καὶ ὕστερον ἐλθόντων πρέσβεων ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἔξω Ἀργείων, παρόντων τε τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ῥηθέντων πολλῶν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων, ἔγνωσαν μὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς στρατεύειν ἐς Ἄργος, διατριβαὶ δὲ καὶ μελ-
4 λήσεις ἐγίγνοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀργείων ἐν τούτῳ, φοβούμενος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν πάλιν προσαγόμενός τε καὶ νομίζων μέγιστον [ἂν] σφᾶς ὠφελήσειν, τειχίζει μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν, ὅπως, ἢν τῆς γῆς εἴργωνται, ἡ κατὰ θάλασσαν σφᾶς μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγὴ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὠφελῇ. ξυνῄδεσαν δὲ τὸν τειχισμὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὲς πόλεων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι πανδημεί, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἰκέται, ἐτείχιζον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν

Ἀθηνῶν αὐτοῖς ἦλθον τέκτονες καὶ λιθουργοί. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

83 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς ᾔσθοντο τειχιζόντων, ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὸ Ἄργος αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πλὴν Κορινθίων· ὑπῆρχε δέ τι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους αὐτόθεν πρασσόμενον. ἦγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν Ἆγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαι-
2 μονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δοκοῦντα προϋπάρχειν οὐ προὐχώρησεν ἔτι· τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομούμενα τείχη ἑλόντες καὶ καταβαλόντες καὶ Ὑσιὰς χωρίον τῆς Ἀργείας λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἅπαντας οὓς ἔλαβον ἀποκτείναντες
3 ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. ἐστράτευσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἐς τὴν Φλιασίαν καὶ δῃώσαντες ἀπῆλθον, ὅτι σφῶν τοὺς φυγάδας ὑπεδέχοντο· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα κατῴ-
4 κηντο. κατέκλῃσαν δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀθηναῖοι Περδίκκαν, ἐπικαλοῦντες τήν τε πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους γενομένην ξυνωμοσίαν καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασαμένων αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος, ἔψευστο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ μάλιστα διελύθη ἐκείνου ἀπάραντος· πολέμιος οὖν ἦν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος καὶ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα.

Walls destroyed by the Spartans. Athenian operations against Perdiccas.

84 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης τε πλεύσας ἐς Ἄργος ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν Ἀργείων τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἔτι ὑπόπτους εἶναι καὶ τὰ Λακεδαι-

μονίων φρονεῖν ἔλαβε, τριακοσίους ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὰς ἐγγὺς
2 νήσους ὧν ἦρχον· καὶ ἐπὶ Μῆλον τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑαυτῶν μὲν τριάκοντα, Χίαις δὲ ἕξ, Λεσβίαις δὲ δυοῖν, καὶ ὁπλίταις ἑαυτῶν μὲν διακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις καὶ τοξόταις τριακοσίοις καὶ ἱπποτοξόταις εἴκοσι, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν ὁπλίταις
3 μάλιστα πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις. οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι Λακεδαιμονίων μέν εἰσιν ἄποικοι, τῶν δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἤθελον ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδετέρων ὄντες ἡσύχαζον, ἔπειτα, ὡς αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δῃοῦντες
4 τὴν γῆν, ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέστησαν. στρατοπεδευσάμενοι οὖν ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ οἱ στρατηγοί, Κλεομήδης τε ὁ Λυκομήδους καὶ Τισίας ὁ Τισιμάχου, πρὶν ἀδικεῖν τι τῆς γῆς, λόγους πρῶτον ποιησομένους ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις. οὓς οἱ Μήλιοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἤγαγον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις λέγειν
85 ἐκέλευον περὶ ὧν ἥκουσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον τοιάδε· Ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ξυνεχεῖ ῥήσει οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα ἐσάπαξ ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν ἀπατηθῶσιν, γιγνώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο φρονεῖ ὑμῶν ἡ ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀγωγή, ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι
2 ἔτι ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσατε. καθ᾽ ἕκαστον γὰρ καὶ μηδ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἑνὶ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκοῦν ἐπιτηδείως λέγεσθαι εὐθὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες κρί-

B.C. 416. Expedition of the Athenians against Melos.

Melos. Discussion between the Athenian envoys and Melian commissioners.

νετε. καὶ πρῶτον, εἰ ἀρέσκει ὡς λέγομεν εἴπατε.

86 οἱ δὲ τῶν Μηλίων ξύνεδροι ἀπεκρίναντο· Ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους οὐ ψέγεται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρόντα ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντα διαφέροντα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτούς τε κριτὰς ἥκοντας ὑμᾶς τῶν λεχθησομένων, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς περιγενομένοις μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ μὴ ἐνδοῦσι, πόλεμον ἡμῖν φέρουσαν, πεισθεῖσι δὲ δουλείαν.

87 ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπονοίας τῶν μελλόντων λογιούμενοι ἢ ἄλλο τι ξυνήκετε ἢ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὧν ὁρᾶτε περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσοντες τῇ πόλει, παυοίμεθ' ἄν· εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτο, λέγοιμεν ἄν.

88 ΜΗΛ. Εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ ξυγγνώμη ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καθεστῶτας ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ δοκοῦντας τρέπεσθαι· ἡ μέντοι ξύνοδος καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἥδε πάρεστι, καὶ ὁ λόγος ᾧ προκαλεῖσθε τρόπῳ, εἰ δοκεῖ, γιγνέσθω.

89 ΑΘ. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, ὡς ἢ δικαίως τὸν Μῆδον καταλύσαντες ἄρχομεν, ἢ ἀδικούμενοι νῦν ἐπεξερχόμεθα, λόγων μῆκος ἄπιστον παρέξομεν, οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν ἢ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι ὄντες οὐ ξυνεστρατεύσατε ἢ ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἠδικήκατε λέγοντας οἴεσθαι πείσειν, τὰ δυνατὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἀληθῶς φρονοῦμεν διαπράσσεσθαι, ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας ὅτι δίκαια μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προύχοντες πράσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν.

90 ΜΗΛ. [1]Ἧι μὲν δὴ νομίζομέν γε, χρήσιμον—ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ ξυμφέρον λέγειν ὑπέθεσθε—μὴ καταλύειν ὑμᾶς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ γιγνομένῳ εἶναι τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια, καί τι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς [2]πείσαντά τινα ὠφεληθῆναι. καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐχ ἧσσον τοῦτο, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ τιμωρίᾳ σφαλέντες ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα γένοισθε.

91 ΑΘ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἢν καὶ παυθῇ, οὐκ ἀθυμοῦμεν τὴν τελευτήν· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν· ἔστι δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών· ἀλλ' ἢν οἱ ὑπήκοοί που τῶν ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι κρατήσωσιν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου ἡμῖν ἀφείσθω κινδυνεύεσθαι· ὡς δὲ ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τε πάρεσμεν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ νῦν τοὺς λόγους ἐροῦμεν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, ταῦτα δηλώσομεν, βουλόμενοι ἀπόνως μὲν ὑμῶν ἄρξαι, χρησίμως δ' ὑμᾶς ἀμφοτέροις σωθῆναι.

92 ΜΗΛ. Καὶ πῶς χρήσιμον ἂν ξυμβαίη ἡμῖν δουλεῦσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῖν ἄρξαι;

93 ΑΘ. Ὅτι ὑμῖν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τὰ δεινότατα παθεῖν ὑπακοῦσαι ἂν γένοιτο, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ διαφθείραντες ὑμᾶς κερδαίνοιμεν ἄν.

94 ΜΗΛ. Ὥστε δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας ἡμᾶς φίλους μὲν εἶναι ἀντὶ πολεμίων, ξυμμάχους δὲ μηδετέρων, οὐκ ἂν [3]δέξαισθε;

95 ΑΘ. Οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν ὅσον ἡ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μῖσος δυνάμεως παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον.

[1] Ἡμεῖς μὲν [2] πείσοντα [3] δέξοισθε

96 ΜΗΛ. *Σκοποῦσι δ' ὑμῶν οὕτως οἱ ὑπήκοοι τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε τούς τε μὴ προσήκοντας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄποικοι ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποστάντες τινὲς κεχείρωνται, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν;*

97 ΑΘ. *Δικαιώματι γὰρ οὐδετέρους ἐλλείπειν ἡγοῦνται, κατὰ δύναμιν δὲ τοὺς μὲν περιγίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ φόβῳ οὐκ ἐπιέναι· ὥστε ἔξω καὶ τοῦ πλεόνων ἄρξαι καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ καταστραφῆναι ἂν παράσχοιτε, ἄλλως τε καὶ νησιῶται ναυκρατόρων, καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι ἑτέρων ὄντες, εἰ μὴ περιγένοισθε.*

98 ΜΗΛ. *Ἐν δ' ἐκείνῳ οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν; δεῖ γὰρ αὖ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς τῶν δικαίων λόγων ἡμᾶς ἐκβιβάσαντες τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ ὑπακούειν πείθετε, καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡμῖν χρήσιμον διδάσκοντας, εἰ τυγχάνει καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ξυμβαῖνον, πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. ὅσοι γὰρ νῦν μηδετέροις ξυμμαχοῦσιν, πῶς οὐ πολεμώσεσθε αὐτούς, ὅταν ἐς τάδε βλέψαντες ἡγήσωνταί ποτε ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν; κἀν τούτῳ τί ἄλλο ἢ τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας πολεμίους μεγαλύνετε, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲ μελλήσοντας γενέσθαι ἄκοντας ἐπάγεσθε;*

99 ΑΘ. *Οὐ γὰρ νομίζομεν ἡμῖν τούτους δεινοτέρους, ὅσοι ἠπειρῶταί που ὄντες τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ πολλὴν τὴν διαμέλλησιν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλακῆς ποιήσονται, ἀλλὰ τοὺς νησιώτας τέ που ἀνάρκτους ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ παροξυνομένους. οὗτοι γὰρ πλεῖστ' ἂν τῷ ἀλογίστῳ ἐπιτρέψαντες σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς προὖπτον κίνδυνον καταστήσειαν.*

100 ΜΗΛ. Ἦ που ἄρα, εἰ τοσαύτην γε ὑμεῖς τε μὴ παυθῆναι ἀρχῆς καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἤδη ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὴν παρακινδύνευσιν ποιοῦνται, ἡμῖν γε τοῖς ἔτι ἐλευθέροις πολλὴ κακότης καὶ δειλία μὴ πᾶν πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι ἐπεξελθεῖν.

101 ΑΘ. Οὔκ, ἤν γε σωφρόνως βουλεύησθε· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν μὴ αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῷ μὴ ἀνθίστασθαι.

102 ΜΗΛ. Ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα ἢ κατὰ τὸ διαφέρον ἑκατέρων πλῆθος. καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ μὲν εἶξαι εὐθὺς ἀνέλπιστον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου ἔτι καὶ στῆναι ἐλπὶς ὀρθῶς.

103 ΑΘ. Ἐλπὶς δέ, κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὖσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ κἂν βλάψῃ οὐ καθεῖλεν· τοῖς δ' ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι, δάπανος γὰρ φύσει, ἅμα τε γιγνώσκεται σφαλέντων καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι φυλάξεταί τις
2 αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν οὐκ ἐλλείπει. ὃ ὑμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς τε καὶ ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς μιᾶς ὄντες μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν, μηδὲ ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷς παρὸν ἀνθρωπείως ἔτι σῴζεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπωσιν αἱ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικήν τε καὶ χρησμοὺς καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.

104 ΜΗΛ. Χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴστε, νομίζομεν πρὸς δύναμίν τε τὴν ὑμετέραν καὶ τὴν τύχην, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἔσται, ἀγωνίζεσθαι· ὅμως δὲ

πιστεύομεν τῇ μὲν τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου μὴ ἐλασσώσεσθαι, ὅτι ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ἱστάμεθα, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως τῷ ἐλλείποντι τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἡμῖν ξυμμαχίαν προσέσεσθαι, ἀνάγκην ἔχουσαν, καὶ εἰ μή του ἄλλου, τῆς γε ξυγγενείας ἕνεκα καὶ αἰσχύνῃ βοηθεῖν. καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν οὕτως ἀλόγως θρασυνόμεθα.

105 ΑΘ. Τῆς *μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελείψεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως τῶν δ' ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσσομεν. ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τό τε θεῖον δόξῃ τὸ ἀνθρώπειόν τε σαφῶς διὰ παντὸς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαίας*
2 *οὗ ἂν κρατῇ ἄρχειν· καὶ ἡμεῖς οὔτε θέντες τὸν νόμον οὔτε κειμένῳ πρῶτοι χρησάμενοι, ὄντα δὲ παραλαβόντες καὶ ἐσόμενον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλείψοντες χρώμεθα αὐτῷ, εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει ἡμῖν γενομένους δρῶντας ἂν αὐτό. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ θεῖον οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος οὐ φοβούμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι· τῆς δὲ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους δόξης, ἣν διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν δὴ βοηθήσειν ὑμῖν πιστεύετε αὐτούς, μακαρίσαντες ὑμῶν τὸ*
3 *ἀπειρόκακον οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια νόμιμα πλεῖστα ἀρετῇ χρῶνται· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους πολλὰ ἄν τις ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὡς προσφέρονται ξυνελὼν μάλιστ' ἂν δηλώσειεν, ὅτι ἐπιφανέστατα ὧν ἴσμεν τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ξυμφέροντα δίκαια. καίτοι οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας νῦν ἀλόγου σωτηρίας ἡ τοιαύτη διάνοια.*

106 ΜΗΛ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μάλιστα πιστεύομεν τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν, Μηλίους ἀποίκους ὄντας μὴ βουλήσεσθαι προδόντας τοῖς μὲν εὔνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίστους καταστῆναι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὠφελίμους.

107 ΑΘ. Οὔκουν οἴεσθε τὸ ξυμφέρον μὲν μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἶναι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν μετὰ κινδύνου δρᾶσθαι· ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἥκιστα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τολμῶσιν.

108 ΜΗΛ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τε ἡμῶν ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἡγούμεθ' ἂν ἐγχειρίσασθαι αὐτούς, καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἢ ἐς ἄλλους νομιεῖν, ὅσῳ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐγγὺς κείμεθα, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τῷ ξυγγενεῖ πιστότεροι ἑτέρων ἐσμέν.

109 ΑΘ. Τὸ δ' ἐχυρόν γε τοῖς ξυναγωνιουμένοις οὐ τὸ εὔνουν τῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἢν τῶν ἔργων τις δυνάμει πολὺ προύχῃ· ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πλεῖόν τι τῶν ἄλλων σκοποῦσιν. τῆς γοῦν οἰκείας παρασκευῆς ἀπιστίᾳ καὶ μετὰ ξυμμάχων πολλῶν τοῖς πέλας ἐπέρχονται, ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐς νῆσόν γε αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν ναυκρατόρων ὄντων περαιωθῆναι.

110 ΜΗΛ. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἂν ἔχοιεν πέμψαι· πολὺ δὲ τὸ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος, δι' οὗ τῶν κρατούντων ἀπορώτερος ἡ λῆψις ἢ τῶν λαθεῖν βουλομένων ἡ σωτηρία. καὶ εἰ τοῦδε σφάλλοιντο, τράποιντ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσους μὴ Βρασιδας ἐπῆλθεν· καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς οἰκειοτέρας ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς ὁ πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται.

111 ΑΘ. Τούτων μὲν καὶ πεπειραμένοις ἄν τι γέ-
νοιτο καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσιν ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπὸ
μιᾶς πώποτε πολιορκίας Ἀθηναῖοι δι' ἄλλων
φόβον ἀπεχώρησαν. ἐνθυμούμεθα δὲ ὅτι φήσαντες
περὶ σωτηρίας βουλεύσειν οὐδὲν ἐν τοσούτῳ λόγῳ
εἰρήκατε, ᾧ ἄνθρωποι ἂν πιστεύσαντες νομίσειαν
2 σωθήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπι-
ζόμενα μέλλεται, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα βραχέα πρὸς
τὰ ἤδη ἀντιτεταγμένα περιγίγνεσθαι. πολλήν τε
ἀλογίαν τῆς διανοίας παρέχετε, εἰ μὴ μεταστησά-
μενοι ἔτι ἡμᾶς ἄλλο τι τῶνδε σωφρονέστερον
3 γνώσεσθε. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπί γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς
καὶ προύπτοις κινδύνοις πλεῖστα διαφθείρουσαν
ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνην τρέψεσθε. πολλοῖς γὰρ
προορωμένοις ἔτι, ἐς οἷα φέρονται, τὸ αἰσχρὸν
καλούμενον ὀνόματος ἐπαγωγοῦ δυνάμει ἐπεσπά-
σατο, ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος, ἔργῳ ξυμφοραῖς
ἀνηκέστοις ἑκόντας περιπεσεῖν, καὶ αἰσχύνην
4 αἰσχίω μετ' ἀνοίας ἢ τύχης προσλαβεῖν. ὃ ὑμεῖς,
ἢν εὖ βουλεύησθε, φυλάξεσθε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς
νομιεῖτε πόλεώς τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡσσᾶσθαι μέ-
τρια προκαλουμένης, ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι ἔχοντας
τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ὑποτελεῖς, καὶ δοθείσης
αἱρέσεως πολέμου πέρι καὶ ἀσφαλείας, μὴ τὰ
5 χείρω φιλονεικῆσαι· ὡς οἵτινες τοῖς μὲν ἴσοις
μὴ εἴκουσι, τοῖς δὲ κρείσσοσι καλῶς προσφέ-
ρονται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἥσσους μέτριοί εἰσιν,
πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖντο. σκοπεῖτε οὖν καὶ μετα-
στάντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε πολλάκις, ὅτι
περὶ πατρίδος βουλεύεσθε, [ἣν] μιᾶς πέρι καὶ ἐς

μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν [1][ἔσται].

112 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι μετεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν λόγων· οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι, ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παραπλήσια καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἀπεκρίναντο τάδε. Οὔτε ἄλλα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἢ ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτ᾿ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πόλεως ἑπτακόσια ἔτη ἤδη οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε μέχρι τοῦδε σωζούσῃ τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου αὐτὴν καὶ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τιμωρίᾳ πιστεύοντες πειρασόμεθα σώζεσθαι. προκαλούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς φίλοι μὲν εἶναι, πολέμιοι δὲ μηδετέροις, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἀναχωρῆσαι, σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους αἵτινες δοκοῦσιν

The Melians reject the Athenian demands.

113 ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μήλιοι τοσαῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διαλυόμενοι ἤδη ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἔφασαν· Ἀλλ᾿ οὖν μόνοι γε ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν βουλευμάτων, ὡς ἡμῖν δοκεῖτε, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα τῶν ὁρωμένων σαφέστερα κρίνετε, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῆ τῷ βούλεσθαι ὡς γιγνόμενα ἤδη θεᾶσθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ἐλπίσι πλεῖστον δὴ παραβεβλημένοι καὶ πιστεύσαντες πλεῖστον καὶ σφαλήσεσθε.

114 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπήκουον οἱ Μήλιοι, πρὸς πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐτρέποντο, καὶ διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις περιετείχισαν κύκλῳ τοὺς Μηλίους. καὶ ὕστερον

Melos blockaded.

[1] ἵστατε

φυλακὴν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων καταλιπόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ λειπόμενοι παραμένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὸ χωρίον.

Operations in Peloponnesus.

115 Καὶ Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Φλιασίαν καὶ λοχισθέντες ὑπό τε Φλιασίων καὶ τῶν σφετέρων φυγάδων διεφθάρησαν ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὴν λείαν ἔλαβον· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς οὐδ' ὣς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἴ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους λῄζεσθαι. 2 καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἐπολέμησαν ἰδίων τινῶν διαφορῶν ἕνεκα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι ἡσύχαζον. εἷλον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μήλιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ περιτειχίσματος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προσβαλόντες νυκτός, καὶ ἄνδρας τε ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐσενεγκάμενοι σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅσα πλεῖστα ἐδύναντο χρήσιμα ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσύχαζον· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄμεινον τὴν φυλακὴν τὸ ἔπειτα παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

Melos surrenders.

116 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι μελλήσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν στρατεύειν, ὡς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια ἱερὰ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις οὐκ ἐγίγνετο, ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ Ἀργεῖοι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τινὰς ὑποτοπήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ξυνέλαβον, οἱ δ' αὐτοὺς 2 καὶ διέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Μήλιοι περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὖθις καθ' ἕτερόν τι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος

εἷλον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παρόντων οὐ πολλῶν τῶν φυλάκων. καὶ ἐλθούσης στρατιᾶς ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄλλης, ὡς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ἧς ἦρχε Φιλοκράτης ὁ Δημέου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη πολιορκούμενοι, γενομένης καὶ προδοσίας τινὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, ξυνεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὥστ' ἐκείνους περὶ αὐτῶν βουλεῦσαι. οἱ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὅσους ἡβῶντας ἔλαβον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον αὐτοὶ [1]ᾤκησαν, ἀποίκους ὕστερον πεντακοσίους πέμψαντες.

[1] ᾤκισαν

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. **τοῦ δὲ...θέρους**—the same words with which the third and fourth books begin: see note on iv. 1, 1. **αἱ μέν**—answered by δέ at the beginning of chapter 2, the rest of this chapter being parenthetical. A second protasis to the same δέ occurs below in line 9, οἱ μὲν Δήλιοι. Krüger however considers that this first μέν is answered by καί in the next clause, as in chapter 71, 1, where ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἅπαντα is followed by καὶ τότε.

2. **διελέλυντο**—'had come to an end' or 'was *ipso facto* at an end', the pluperfect denoting the termination of the treaty and the state of things resulting, as in iv. 16, 3, τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς. For the terms of the year's truce see iv. 117—119.

The words **μέχρι Πυθίων** define the time when the treaty actually ended, '(after lasting) till the Pythian games'. For this force of μέχρι cf. i. 71, 3, μέχρι τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής 'let this be the limit of your inaction': so i. 51, 2, ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα, 'lasted till night and then ended': iii. 108 (fin.), ἐτελεύτα ἕως ὀψέ: iv. 48, 1, ἡ στάσις ἐτελεύτησεν ἐς τοῦτο.

Poppo and others take the sense of the clause to be that 'the truce was ended (and a state of war followed) till the Pythian games'; but no warlike operations are recorded, nor any hint given of the war beginning again; and on the contrary it seems clear that Cleon's expedition was not allowed to start till after the sacred season.

Other editors think that a nondescript state of things, neither peace nor war, is meant, which followed the expiration of the treaty.

There seems some justice in Classen's view, that Thucydides had intended at first to write only αἱ μὲν...διελέλυντο· Κλέων δέ κ.τ.λ. and then had inserted a note of time and the account of the cleansing of Delos.

It is ascertained by an inscription that the Pythian games were held in the Delphian month Bucatius, which corresponded to Metageitnion at Athens, and to part of our August and Sep-

tember (see Classen and Jowett). The year's truce therefore which formally expired in Elaphebolion (March—April) was informally prolonged because of the approach of the Pythian festival.

3. **ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ**—the year's truce is called *ἡ ἐκεχειρία* in iv. 119 (fin.), 122, 1, and 123, 1, and this might be the meaning here. Most editors however take it to denote either the informal truce after the regular expiration of the treaty, or the sacred truce of the Pythian festival.

ib. **Δηλίους ἀνέστησαν** Arnold points out that the Athenians were naturally anxious to propitiate Apollo, who was the national deity of their enemies, and whose temple at Delium they themselves had lately profaned. They had been excluded from Delphi by the war, and now that the sacred games drew near, 'what wonder if the peace party availed themselves of this pretext to delay Cleon's proposed expedition: if they urged the duty and wisdom of not trying again the chances of war till the god at Delphi had been fully appeased. His birthplace had been now completely purified; it only remained to approach his temple with their suppliant offerings at his great Pythian festival; to profane it by no din of warlike preparation, but to wait till they should be assured of his favour, in consideration of their devout reverence to his solemnity'.

5. **οὐ καθαροὺς ὄντας**—the participial construction gives the principal thing in the clause, the suspected impurity of the Delians when their island was consecrated: cf. i. 20, 2, *Ἵππαρχον οἴονται τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν*, 'think that Hipparchus who was slain was tyrant'.

7. **ᾗ**—'in which', in construction a sort of instrumental dative (or perhaps rather dative of 'occasion when', like *οἷς* ch. 49, 1) with **ἀνελόντες**: see ch. 7. 10. In sentences of this character, with a participle and a verb, the Greek idiom generally differs from the English, and the construction is determined by the participle, especially if it is closer to the dependent word, as it is here to *ᾗ*. We should say, 'which they thought they had properly carried out by removing the sepulchres of the dead'.

ib. **πρότερον**—the former purification was in 426. It is described in iii. 104, where a still earlier purification by Peisistratus is mentioned, and an account given of the ancient Delian festivals: see also i. 8, 1. The **θῆκαι** are mentioned in both passages.

9. **'Ατραμύττιον**—(or *-ειον*) acc. governed by *ᾤκησαν*: i. 8, 1, *τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ᾤκησαν*. At(d)ramyttium was on the

coast of Mysia near Lesbos. Pharnaces (ii. 67, 1) appears to have been satrap of the district near the Hellespont, in which he was succeeded by his son Pharnabazus (viii. 6, 1).

11. **ὥρμητο**—this form, which is a virtual imperfect, is used with words of motion, as in iv. 48, 6, and 74, 1 with ἵνα: or of impulse of mind, as in iv. 27, 4, *ὡρμημένοις τῇ γνώμῃ*: vi. 6, 1, *στρατεύειν ὥρμηντο*. Whichever is the literal force here, the sense is that the Delians did not migrate in a body, but as each chose to go. In ch. 32, 5 we find the Delians restored to Delos, but others were still at Adramyttium 10 years later (viii. 108, 3).

CHAPTER II

1. **Ἀθηναίους πείσας**—these words show that Cleon alone had the courage and statesmanship to urge the necessity of recovering Amphipolis and the other revolted towns as a matter of vital importance. By his influence in the assembly the expedition was decreed. But what is to be said of Nicias, and the other home authorities, who allowed him to conduct singlehanded an enterprise of such moment? At Pylos he had a thoroughly competent colleague in Demosthenes. Now 1200 men at arms, and 300 cavalry, the flower of the Athenian troops, besides a large force of allies, are entrusted to his sole command. The general assembly very possibly believed that Cleon might succeed as he had done at Pylos, but the *strategi* could be under no such delusion. They knew that he had no military skill or experience, they knew that he had to encounter Brasidas, and their imbecility or their party-hatred sacrificed an Athenian army and lost the Thrace-ward possessions.

5. **σχὼν ἐς**—'landing, putting in at'; so iv. 42, 2, *ἔσχον ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν*. **ἔτι πολιορκουμένην**—Scione was completely invested by the end of the summer before; see iv. 133 (fin.). The long duration of the blockade became proverbial; cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 209 (exhibited in 422),

ἦ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν
τηρεῖν Σκιώνην ἀντὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πατρός.

8. **Κωφὸν λιμένα**—a conjectural alteration of the manuscript reading *Κολοφωνίων λιμένα*, which is unintelligible, unless it possibly denoted a name derived from some resemblance in appearance. *κωφὸς λιμήν* = *ἄκλυστος*, silent, as in Xen. *Hel.* ii. 4, 31. Strabo speaks of a *κωφὸς λιμήν* near Torone; and a harbour south of the city is still called Kufo; see Jowett's note.

ib. **τῶν Τορωναίων** ambiguously placed (ch. 29, 23). Poppo and Kruger connect it with *τῆς πόλεως*, Classen with *λιμένα*. The latter way of taking it seems right, as it gives the explanation that the harbour in question was in the territory of Torone. Torone had been taken by Brasidas in 424 (iv. 110—116).

9. **αἰσθόμενος ὑπ' αὐτομόλων** the quasi-passive force of *αἰσθόμενος* 'informed by', seems sufficient to justify *ὑπό*, which is read in all the manuscripts. Krüger would read *ἀπό*.

10. **ἐν τῇ Τορώνῃ** sc. *εἴη*, a very awkward ellipse. Krüger notes that **ἀξιόμαχος** is not found in classical Greek writers besides Thucydides and Herodotus.

12. **ἐς τὴν πόλιν** *ἐς* here denotes approach, not entrance; so ii. 18, 1, *ἀφίκετο ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον*. The harbour here spoken of is different from the *κωφὸς λιμήν*. For the infinitive **περιπλεῖν** cf. iv. 132, 3, *ἐπιδεῖν πεμψάντων τὰ πράγματα*: see Goodwin § 97.

14. **περιτείχισμα** *περιτειχίζω* and its compounds are commonly used by Thucydides of the works of a besieger, not of defensive fortifications (*τεῖχος, τείχισμα, περίβολος*): see ch. 115, 12, etc. Possibly therefore *προτείχισμα* ought to be read, or *τείχισμα* as in the next chapter, line 8. In Ar. *Av.* 551 however *περιτειχίζειν* is used of defensive lines. **ποιῆσαι** i. 109, 3, *τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε*: vi. 67, 2, *τοὺς σκευοφόρους ἐντὸς τούτων ἐποιήσαντο*.

16. **διελὼν τοῦ** 'making a breach *in*', so as to open a free passage between the city and the suburb. **τείχους** is partitive genitive, as in ii. 75, 4, *διελόντες τοῦ τείχους*. In iv. 111, 2 we have *ἡ πύλις διῄρητο*, 'had been forced open' or 'broken through'. Note the demonstrative form which the second clause of the relative sentence assumes, as in ch. 5, 8: cf. note on iv. 67, 1, *ὅθεν ἐπλίνθευον τὰ τείχη καὶ ἀπεῖχεν*.

17. **αὐτήν** agreeing with *πόλιν* by attraction; the whole space enclosed is meant.

CHAPTER III

1. **ἐς αὐτό** the new *περιτείχισμα* or outwork. **Πασιτελίδας** in iv. 132 (fin.), according to the manuscripts, the Lacedaemonian commandant is called Epitelidas, a name which most editors alter to Pasitelidas on the strength of the present chapter.

4. **ἐβιάζοντο**—passive; iv. 10, 3 (note). Note in this sentence the different force of the imperfects and aorists.

5. **αἱ ἐς τὸν λιμένα**—*αἱ* is read by Poppo and Classen, with one manuscript. If *αἱ* be omitted we have the sense 'after being sent round'. **ἐγκαταληφθῇ** sc. *αὐτός*. For the word cf. iv. 116, 1, *ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβε διέφθειρεν*.

9. **οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι**—resolved into *οἵ τε ἀπό...καὶ ὁ πεζός*, **φθάνουσι** being connected both with *ἑλόντες* and *ξυνεσπεσών*, while **ἐπισπόμενος** is a predicate in agreement with *πεζός*. According to this view *αὐτοβοεί* goes with *ξυνεσπεσών*: Kruger however puts a comma after the word, connecting it with the preceding *ἑλόντες*. **ὁ πεζός** sc. *στρατός*: iv. 25, 3. **αὐτοβοεί**—*primo clamore atque impetu* (Poppo); usually with *ἑλεῖν*, as ii. 81, 3, *αὐτοβοεὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν*. Here **ξυνεσπεσών** implies forcing the passage. The Athenians at the first onset broke into the city pell mell with the enemy: cf. vi. 100, 2, *καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνεσέπεσον οἱ διώκοντες*. **ἐν χερσί** iv. 13, 2, *ἦν ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ πᾶσα*.

15. **ἐβοήθει**—note the force of the imperfect 'de consilio et conatu opitulandi' (Poppo). We are not told where Brasidas was when Cleon's expedition arrived. **ἀποσχών** contains a *negative* idea of failure or hindrance, and is therefore constructed with *μή* following.

19. **τροπαῖα δύο** one for each branch of the service. **γυναῖκας** for the omission of the article in regular phrases of frequent occurrence, see note on iv. 18, 3, *πόλεώς τε κ.τ.λ.* In this particular phrase *παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες* is the more usual order.

22. **καὶ εἴ τις** so iii. 35, *καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος*, after two accusatives. **ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας** the more usual Thucydidean form, not *Ἀθήναζε*: see note on iv. 21, 3.

24. **αὐτοῖς** the defenders of Torone generally. *αὐτοῖς* is the common Thucydidean initial dative, in construction loosely connected with **ἀπῆλθεν**, but in sense concerned with both the following clauses: 'as for them', 'this befell them' etc.: cf. i. 48, 3, *Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον κ.τ.λ.* Arnold takes *αὐτοῖς* to denote the Athenians, meaning that 'they afterwards lost their captives', but this part of the sentence seems entirely to refer to the Toroneans.

ib. **τὸ Πελοποννήσιον** so iv. 61, 2, *οἱ μὲν Δωριῆς τὸ δὲ Χαλκιδικόν*. Note what we may call the *resolved* apposition *ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς λυθείς*: so ii. 103, 1, *οἳ ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν*. **γενομέναις**—see ch. 18 sq.

27. **εἷλον δέ** note the breaking up of this sentence, so that the emphasis naturally falls on the more important words, while the rhythm is duly balanced.

30. **περιέπλει**—by this use of the imperfect Thucydides leaves Cleon on his way to Amphipolis, and passes to another subject.

CHAPTER IV

A summary of events in Sicily, which has not been mentioned since iv. 65.

1. **Φαίαξ** Phaeax is mentioned by Plutarch, *Alc.* 13, as a contemporary and opponent of Alcibiades: Ar. *Eq.* 1377, *σοφός γ' ὁ Φαίαξ δεξιῶς τ' οὐκ ἀπέθανε.*

ib. **τρίτος αὐτός**—i. 46, *πέμπτος αὐτός*: so Hdt. iv. 113, *δευτέρην αὐτήν*, 'with one companion'. **Ἀθηναίων πεμπόντων**—cf. ch. 39. 2: i. 89, 2, *Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἐχόντων*, etc.

5. **μετὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν**—the general peace made by the Sicilian Greeks, two years before, on the advice of Hermocrates (iv. 65). **πολίτας ἐπεγράψαντο**—'enrolled many new citizens'; cf. *ascribere, ascriptus*. For *ἐπί* in composition implying sequence and addition, see note on iv. 36, 2.

7. **ἐπενόει ἀναδάσασθαι**—'contemplated a redistribution of the land'. 'So when an additional number of citizens was wanted at Cyrene, settlers were invited from all parts of Greece, *ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ* (Hdt. iv. 159)'. It was regarded as a revolutionary measure, as shown in Arnold's interesting note, from which this is quoted. Arnold assumes that the *ager publicus* of the state is meant, but Grote doubts if there would be such lands belonging to a state like Leontini (ch. 57, p. 123).

ib. **οἱ δυνατοί**—here the oligarchical or aristocratical party, who were threatened with the loss of some of their possessions or holdings; i. 24, 3, *ὁ δῆμος ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς.* In ii. 65, 1, *οἱ δυνατοί* is used to denote men of wealth and position, as contrasted with the *δῆμος* or mass of the people, without implying political partizanship. **αἰσθόμενοι**—sc. the matter; cf. note on iv. 14, 1, *γνόντες.* **ἐπάγονται**—so ii. 2, 2, *ἐπηγάγοντο.*

9. **ὡς ἕκαστοι**—so i. 3, 4 etc.: see note on iv. 32, 2. **ἐρημώσαντες**—'abandoning'; Aesch. *Ag.* 1070, *τόνδ' ἐρημώσασ' ὄχον.* **ἐπὶ πολιτείᾳ**—'on condition of receiving citizenship'; ch. 31, 9: for *ἐπί* implying conditions cf. *ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ἐφ' ᾧ*, etc.: also Hdt. cited on line 7.

13. **ἀρέσκεσθαι**—so ch. 37, 23, *οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ἠρέσκοντο*: also with dat. 'to be pleased with'. **ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ**—so iii. 10, 1, with *ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου*: this usage is rare. Krüger cites Hdt. vii. 221, *αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπέλιπε*, 'did not depart'.

15. **καταλαμβάνουσι**—*occupant*: iv. 1, 1, note. **ὄν**—agreeing with the predicate; i. 96, 2, Ἑλληνοταμίαι κατέστη ἀρχή. **τότε**='as related'; ch. 6, 1, etc.

18. **καταστάντες** probably to be connected with **ἐπολέμουν**, of 'settling down to' a course of warfare: cf. i. 59, 2, *καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν*: so ii. 1. In i. 49, 2, however, *καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο* is used of soldiers who were 'firmly posted' on shipboard. Some editors therefore take the meaning here to be, 'when they had established themselves'. **ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν**—from the strongholds in question, each of which was a *τεῖχος* (Classen).

20. **ξυμμάχους**—we find in iii. 86 that the Chalcidian cities and the Dorian colony of Camarina were in alliance with Leontini and joined in appealing to Athens. **Σικελιώτας**—Greek colonists, as opposed to the Σικελοί, the general name for the non-Greek inhabitants: cf. vi. 2, 5. **κοινῇ** is to be taken with *ἐπιστρατεῦσαι*.

26. **ἀντιστάντος...πράγματος**—so ch. 38, 23, *ὡς ἀντέστη τὸ πρᾶγμα*, 'went against them'. **πρᾶγμα** has no doubt the notion of political intrigue which is so often conveyed by *πράσσω*: e.g. i. 128, 3, *πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν*.

ib. **οὐκέτι**—=he gave up his intention. **ἐπί**—in a friendly sense: iv. 85, 3, *ἐπὶ οὓς πρῶτον ἦλθον*. For inf. with **αἰσθόμενος** cf. vi. 59, 3, *αἰσθανόμενος...δύνασθαι*.

28. **διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν**—through the interior: the Σικελοί occupied the central and northern parts of the island. **παραθαρσύνας**—'reassured'; iv. 115, 1: viii. 77. We are not told what became of this garrison. It was probably reduced and expelled by the Syracusans; cf. vi. 6, 1, *εἰ Συρακόσιοι Λεοντίνους ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρητοι γενήσονται*.

CHAPTER V

1. **τῇ παρακομιδῇ κ.τ.λ.**—the article applies to both substantives, which are equivalent to 'on his way to Sicily and back'; cf. i. 120, 2, *τὴν κατακομιδὴν...καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν*=exchange of exports and imports.

2. **καί**—'also', with *ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ*. **ἐχρημάτισε**—'treated', only here with the dative (Classen): i. 87, 4, *ἐφ' ἅπερ ἦλθον χρηματίσαντες*. **φιλίας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις**=*πρὸς τούς*: iv. 22, 1, *ξυνέδρους σφίσιν ἑλέσθαι*: ib. infr. *ὀλίγους ξυνέδρους γίγνεσθαι*.

4. **τοῖς ἐκ Μεσσήνης**—the definite article is explained by what follows: the circumstances have not been mentioned before. The Epizephyrian Locrians had joined in occupying Messene in 425 (iv. 1, 1), but only with a naval force. Messene from the earliest days had been a centre of faction; see the

account of it in vi. 4. **ἐποίκοις** 'settlers' or colonists; ii. 27, 1, *αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν.*

5. **ἐκπεπτωκόσιν**—part of the epithet, but placed after the substantive, as is not uncommon, especially with participles; cf. ch. 34, 6: i. 11, 3. **ὁμολογίαν** = *ξύμβασιν* ch. 4, 5. **καὶ ἐγένετο**—the second division of the relative construction, put in demonstrative form; see note on ch. 2, 16.

9. **κομιζομένοις** 'on their way' (back to Locri); so i. 52, 3, *κομισθήσονται*, etc. The manuscripts have *τοῖς κομιζομένοις*, 'those namely etc.', with *προσκομιζομένοις* as a correction in one. Bekker suggests *ἀποκομιζομένοις.* Classen would omit both words, as being an interpolation. For other instances of an article which we might at first sight think better away, cf. iv. 46, 3, *τοὺς ἐλθόντας*, and Jowett's note on iv. 33, 2, *οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες.*

10. **τοῖς Λοκροῖς πρὸς αὐτόν**—render 'between him and the Locrians'; see iv. 80, 2, note, and Shilleto on i. 17, 1.

14. **κατεῖχεν** *κατέχω* = 'to constrain' or 'press hard on'; i. 103, 3, *Κορίνθιοι αὐτοὺς πολέμῳ κατεῖχον*: iv. 92, 5, *εἰώθασι κατέχειν.* For **Ἰτωνέας καὶ Μελαίους**, unknown people, Classen adopts *Ἰππωνιάτας καὶ Μεδμαίους*, from names of places found in Strabo. *Ἰπωνιέας* seems the right form (F.). Note the definite article with **πόλεμος**, as in line 4; though the war has not been mentioned before.

CHAPTER VI.

1. **τότε**—see the end of ch. 3. **Σταγείρῳ**—Stageirus joined Brasidas soon after Acanthus, iv. 88: for Galepsus see iv. 107, 2. The article with *ἀποικίαν* is a Thucydidean mannerism, sometimes implying 'the well-known' or 'the before-named' colony; but often used with no especial definitive force.

6. **Περδίκκαν** this fickle prince had made peace with the Athenians two years before, after quarrelling with Brasidas, iv. 132, 1. **κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν**—so i. 107 fin.: ii. 22, 2, *κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικόν.*

9. **ἄξοντα** 'who was to bring': Classen approves the suggestion *ἄξοντας*, referring to the envoys; cf. ch. 80, 20: ch. 84, 21. For **μισθοῦ** cf. iv. 124, 4, *μισθοῦ μέλλοντες ἥκειν.*

11. **καὶ αὐτός** = 'on his side'; the words belong to *ἀντεκάθητο* or strictly to *ἐκάθητο* only: cf. iv. 124, 3, *ἀντεπαγαγόντες καὶ αὐτοί*: so ch. 8, 2.

12. **Ἀργιλίων**—see iv. 103, 2. For the genitive cf. iv. 41, 2, *ἔστι ἡ Πύλος τῆς Μεσσηνίδος ποτὲ οὔσης γῆς.* Xen. *Anab.* v.

5, 7, *Κοτύωρα ἦν Σινωπέων*. **πέραν**—i.e. the side opposite Amphipolis, which lay to the east of the Strymon in a bend of the river; see iv. 102, 2.

15. **αὐτόθεν**—the second *αὐτόθεν* if genuine goes with *οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν*. It is however a mere repetition, and probably ought to be omitted or altered to *αὐτόν*. Classen adopts the alteration, for which there is some slight manuscript authority.

16. **ὅπερ...ἀναβήσεσθαι**—*ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν* is to be taken with *ἀναβήσεσθαι*: the construction being appositional and explanatory of *ὅπερ ποιήσειν*: iv. 125, 1, *ὅπερ φιλεῖ...ἐκπλήγνυσθαι*: so iii. 59, 3. **ὑπεριδόντα**: vi. 104, 4, *ὑπεριδὸν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν*. **πλῆθος**—of small numbers, as in iv. 10, 2, *ἀντιπάλους τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλήθει*.

19. **παρεσκευάζετο**—this governs *Θρᾷκας*, and **παρακαλῶν**—*οὓς παρεκάλει*: see note on iv. 48, 3, *παραιρήματα ποιοῦντες*—*παραιρήμασιν ἃ ἐποίουν*. Edones are mentioned in iv. 109, 3, as dwelling on the peninsula of Acte: in i. 100, 3 as once holding *Ἐννέα ὁδοί* (Amphipolis).

21. **Μυρκινίων**—Myrcinus was an Edonian town (iv. 107, 3), N. of Amphipolis. **ξύμπαν**—predicate, 'in all'. For **δισχίλιοι** cf. Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 1, 25, *ἡ δὲ τάξις ἦν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες*. The **ἱππῆς Ἕλληνες** were probably the Chalcidians, as we see from ch. 10, 51. For **ἐς** cf. iv. 48, 1, *ἐς ἑξήκοντα ἔλαθον διαφθείραντες*.

27. **μετὰ Κλεαρίδου**—Clearidas was sent out from Sparta and appointed governor of Amphipolis the year before, iv. 132, 3. For the Ionic 3rd plural **ἐτετάχατο** (=*ντο*) see note on iv. 31, 2, *ὧδε γὰρ διετετάχατο*.

CHAPTER VII

2. **τέως μέν**—followed by *ἔπειτα* without *δέ*, as is often the case with *πρῶτον μέν*: vi. 61, 6, *τέως μὲν...ὡς δέ*.

4. **τῇ ἕδρᾳ**—so ii. 18, 3, *ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ*, of the delay of Archidamus at Oenoe: Hdt. ix. 41, *περιημέκτεε τῇ ἕδρῃ*, 'was galled at remaining inactive'.

6. **πρὸς οἵαν**—**μετὰ οἵας**—so vii. 75, 6, *ἀπὸ οἵας...ἐς οἵαν*: cf. Soph. *El.* 750, *ἀνωλόλυξε τὸν νεανίαν, οἷ᾽ ἔργα δράσας οἷα λαγχάνει κακά*. **οἴκοθεν** stands first for the sake of emphasis. Several editors approve of Dobree's alteration of **ξυνῆλθον** into *ξυνεξῆλθον*. **ἀνεπιστημοσύνης**—'incompetence'; only here in Thucydides, though the adjective is found more than once.

8. **αἰσθόμενος τὸν θροῦν**—so iv. 66, 2: viii. 79, 1 etc.: cf. ch. 30, 1. **διὰ τὸ...καθημένους**—a confusion between the par

ticipial construction and *διὰ τό* with the infinitive; so iv. 63, 1, *διὰ τὸ...παρόντας*: in viii. 105, 2, most manuscripts have *διὰ τὸ...διώκοντες*. Kruger however takes *διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ* as forming one expression 'owing to their (being) stationary', like *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*, i. 2, 2. Stahl takes *καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος* by itself 'although he did not wish it'; and makes *αὐτούς* governed by *ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν*. The result is a sentence which can indeed be construed, but could scarcely have been written by anyone, while *αὐτούς* is in an almost impossible position.

10. **ἀναλαβών**—ch. 64, 23, *ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς ξυμμάχους*. Here it means calling his men to their ranks and setting his army in motion.

ib. **ἐχρήσατο τῷ τρόπῳ**—'he adopted the principle the success of which at Pylos gave him confidence in his ability'. He prepared, that is, for a general assault upon the city at all points. *τρόπῳ* is then explained by what follows, and denotes the plan of attack. Many editors take *τρόπῳ* of Cleon's 'temper of mind' and rash confidence; but would not this suggest the imperfect rather than *ἐχρήσατο*? The sense is certainly good, and the aorist might imply a sudden fit of rashness. **ᾧπερ** is an instrumental dative, or dative of accompaniment, with *εὐτυχήσας*; cf. ch. 1, 7, and for dat. ch. 14, 9.

11. **ἐς τὴν Πύλον**—the preposition *ἐς* is very loosely used by Thucydides to denote relation of any kind. Here it means the operations *at* or 'in respect of' Pylos, or Pylos is used in a general sense and includes Sphacteria. **φρονεῖν τι**—'to have intelligence'; vi. 89, 6, *οἱ φρονοῦντές τι*: so *λέγειν τι*)(*οὐδὲν λέγειν*.

13. **κατὰ θέαν**—'to reconnoitre'; this phrase, like some of the rest of the sentence, sounds like a contemptuous reminiscence of Cleon's actual words; cf. *ἐθεᾶτο* infr. and ch. 10, 9.

14. **τὴν μείζω**—as opposed to his *παροῦσα στρατία*, ch. 6, 18: see the beginning of ch. 6. **τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ**—with the certainty of success which a superior force would ensure: a sort of instrumental dative. Arnold compares vi. 55, 3, *πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε*. **περισχήσων**—here 'to gain the superiority' as in viii. 105, 1, *τῷ ἔργῳ πολὺ περισχόντες*. In ch. 71 and elsewhere it is used of outflanking or extending beyond an enemy's force. **βίᾳ αἱρεῖν** is the regular phrase for taking by assault, as opposed to a siege.

17. **ἐλθών τε**—'*so* having come'. **ἐπὶ λόφου**—see ch. 10, 32. **τὸ λιμνῶδες**—cf. iv. 108, 1, *ἄνωθεν μεγάλης οὔσης ἐπὶ πολὺ λίμνης τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. It was this lake which helped to make Amphipolis of such importance as the key of the Thrace-ward district. **ἐπὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ**—'over against' or 'commanding Thrace': iv. 14, fin. *ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ*.

22. **καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ**—the negatives here require attention: **οὐδέ**, 'also not', joins the whole sentence to what has gone before, while **οὔτε...οὔτε** connect *ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους* and *κατὰ πύλας ἐξήει*, the final verb **ἐξῄει** being irregularly written instead of *ἐξιών*. See note on iv. 114, 3, *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ οὐδέ κ.τ.λ.*, where there is no correspondence between *οὐδέ...οὐδέ*.

24. **μηχανάς**—used especially of scaling-ladders, according to Poppo. **κατῆλθεν**—this reading is probably right, and means 'landed', referring to Cleon's arrival at Eion; cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 39, *ὃς ἂν κατέλθῃ τήνδε γῆν*. This view is approved by Grote and Shilleto. The meaning is that Cleon regretted that he had not brought his own siege appliances, instead of waiting till they could be made, or furnished by the allies who were expected. Such things were soon constructed: thus the Spartans sent round the coast *ἐπὶ ξύλα ἐς μηχανάς* as soon as they resolved to attack Pylos (iv. 13, 1).

Arnold takes *κατῆλθεν* to mean that Cleon had descended from the λόφος *καρτερός* towards the city with a part of his forces. No such movement however is mentioned. Poppo approves of *ἀνῆλθεν* (sc. from Eion), which Classen adopts. This reading has some support from the fact that some inferior manuscripts have *ἀπῆλθεν*. Krüger suggests *ἦλθεν*.

CHAPTER VIII

2. **καὶ αὐτός**—see note on ch. 6, 11. The words do not necessarily imply a corresponding *descent* from anywhere on the part of the Athenians, but simply show that Brasidas by coming down made a *counter*-movement on his part.

5. **δεδιώς**—'mistrusting', 'having misgivings about': cf. ch. 61, 22, *δείσαντες*. So *μέμφομαι* is sometimes used, e.g. Hdt. i. 77, *μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στράτευμα*.

6. **ὑποδεεστέρους**—sc. *τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ*, a sense easily supplied; possibly however *ὑποδεέστερος* should be read. **ἀντίπαλα**, according to the scholiast, agrees with *ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατεύματα*. Poppo and Classen however take it to mean 'things were fairly matched', comparing iv. 117, 2, *ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντος*: vii. 13, 2, *ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν*. This neuter phraseology is common, e.g. ii. 56, 1 *ἑτοῖμα ἦν*: iii. 88, 1, *ἀδύνατα ἦν*, etc. **ἀξιώματι**—'quality' (Jowett).

8. **καθαρόν**—the idea of *καθαρός* is 'clear' or 'cleared'. As applied to troops it means either (1) 'picked men', clear of inefficients, or (2) according to the scholiast = *αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν*, 'of pure Athenian blood', with no admixture of aliens. In

Hdt. i. 211, we have *τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ*, 'the effective force', contrasted with *τοῦ ἀχρηΐου*: and in Hdt. iv. 135, *τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ* is contrasted with sick troops left behind. Classen also quotes from Plut. *Aem. Paul.* ch. 6, *αὐτῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρετῇ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ τὸ καθαρώτατον*. These passages are in favour of (1).

9. **Λημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίων**—cf. iv. 28, 4, where we find Lemnians and Imbrians chosen by Cleon for his expedition to Pylos. 'Lemnos had been taken and colonized by Miltiades a few years before the battle of Marathon (Hdt. vi. 140). Imbros was, I suspect, colonized also by him about the same time' (Arnold on vii. 57, 2).

10. **ἐπιθησόμενος**—to be connected with *τέχνῃ*: the participle is joined to the verb without *ὡς*, as in ii. 91, 1, *παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνούμενοι*, etc.

11. **ἀναγκαίαν**—'make-shift', such as *ἀνάγκη* compelled him to use: i. 61, 2, *ξυμμαχία ἀναγκαία*: vi. 37, 2, *ἀναγκαία παρασκευή*.

12. **οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖτο κ.τ.λ.**—'(thinking that) he would be less likely to succeed than if he came upon them before there had been time to observe him, and when as yet they had no real grounds for their contempt of him' (Jowett). **οὐ μᾶλλον**—*ἧσσον*, the usual *litotes*. **αὐτῶν** is the objective genitive, referring to *τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ*, and dependent on the active words *προόψεως* and *καταφρονήσεως*. In the last clause **μή** is a redundant negation, the negative form of the sentence being already determined by *ἄνευ*.

13. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος**—the preposition denotes the source or ground of the contempt which the enemy would feel, if they saw Brasidas' actual force: cf. i. 91, 6, *ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς*, 'starting from, i.e. backed by equal defences': iv. 18, 2 *ἀπὸ τῶν αἰεὶ ὑπαρχόντων γνώμῃ σφαλέντες*. Somewhat similar in origin are various adverbial phrases with *ἀπό*, e.g. in the following chapter, line 14.

Classen and others restrict the force of *ἄνευ* to the first clause, and make *καταφρονήσεως* dependent on *μὴ ἀπό*, taking the whole clause as equivalent to *εἰ μὴ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσειαν* 'if the enemy should not despise their real weakness'. But, not to insist on the co-relation of the nouns coupled by *τε* and *καί*, *τὸ ὄν* is a strange expression for 'their real strength', though *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος* is a reasonable adverbial phrase. Moreover such a construction would refer to the main subject of the sentence, and would imply contempt felt by Brasidas for the enemy, a meaning which makes nonsense of the passage.

11. **ἀπολεξάμενος**—so iv. 9, 2, with *αὐτός*. **προστάξας** vi. 42, 1, *στρατηγῷ προστεταγμένοι*. **ἀπολαβεῖν**—'cut off', or catch in an isolated state; iv. 14, 2, *οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο*.

CHAPTER IX

1. **ἀπὸ μὲν οἵας**—the protasis introduced by *μέν* contrasts generally the Lacedaemonians with their Ionian foes, the apodosis with *δέ* deals with the particular enterprise which Brasidas was about to attempt. **ὅτι...ἐλευθέρας**—sc. *ἥκομεν ἀπὸ χώρας*, the construction of the previous clause being repeated.

2. **διὰ τὸ εὔψυχον**—'owing to its courage': ii. 39, 2, *πιστεύοντες τῷ εὐψύχῳ*: so *εὐψυχία*, i. 84, 3; i. 121, 3. **ὅτι Δωριῆς... Ἴωσι**—cf. vi. 77, 1, *οὐκ Ἴωνες τάδε εἰσὶν...ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς ἐλεύθεροι*. Poppo on i. 121, 1 cites other similar passages.

4. **ἀρκείτω βραχέως**—'let a brief statement of this suffice'. The perfect participle implies that the fact is to be considered settled once for all.

5. **τὴν δὲ ἐπιχείρησιν**—put first for emphasis and contrast. For the word cf. i. 33, 3, *ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν*, 'with a view to assailing you'. *ἐπιχειρῶ* with dative is often used in the sense of attacking.

6. **τό τε κατ' ὀλίγον**—the reading is not certain. The best manuscripts have *τῷ τε*, which leaves the sentence without a nominative to *παράσχῃ*. Poppo and others read *τό τε*: Classen considers the connexion of *τε* and *καὶ* out of place here, and reads *τῳ* (= *τινι*) *τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον*. For **κατ' ὀλίγον**, 'in small divisions', see note on iv. 10, 3. **ἐνδεὲς**—lit. 'deficient', i.e. a disadvantage.

9. **οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντας**—'because they never could have expected'; taking *ἄν* with the participle. Possibly however it is merely anticipatory, and belongs to the following subordinate construction where it is repeated; cf. Eur. *Med.* 941, *οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ πείσαιμι*. The following aorist optative with *ὡς ἄν* is a rare instance: *ἐλπίζων ὡς* with the future indicative occurs viii. 54, 1: so Eur. *El.* 919, *ἤλπισας ὡς ἕξεις*: cf. ii. 42, 5, *πενίας ἐλπίδι...ὡς κἂν πλουτήσειαν*. We have a similarly formed sentence in ii. 93, 2, *οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία, μὴ ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν*.

11. **κατὰ θέαν**—see ch. 7, 13. With the whole phrase we may compare ii. 40, 1, *πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις*.

13. **καὶ ἅμα**—connecting **ἰδὼν** with *πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν*. **πρός**—'looking to, having regard to', i.e. making the most of the force at his disposal. Brasidas did not feel strong enough to fight a pitched battle.

14. **ἀπὸ τοῦ...ἀντιπαραταχθέντος**—'by way of counter-array'. The use of the neuter participle for an abstract substantive, or as equivalent to *τό* with the infinitive, is peculiar to Thucydides among prose writers; e.g. i. 36, 1, *τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ ...τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν*: i. 142, 4, *ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι*, 'in the want of practice': ch. 102, 4, *μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένου*, 'with action': cf. infra **τοῦ μένοντος**. Krüger gives other instances. *τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ νικηθέν*, ii. 87, 2, is somewhat different: cf. *τὸ ποθοῦν*, Soph. *Phil.* 674; *Trach.* 196. See Goodwin § 108; Madv. § 180.

17. **κλέμματα** 'stratagems'; Dem. *de Cor.* 236, *κλέμμα Φιλίππου*, 'a trick of Philip's'. **ἔχει**='bring' or 'involve': cf. note on iv. 1, 1. **ἃ** is cognate accusative after *ἀπατήσας*: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 2, *πεῖράν τιν' ἁρπάσαι*. **ἂν** is repeated as in i. 36, 3: iv. 18, 3, etc.

21. **ἐξ ὧν ἐμοὶ φαίνονται**—'from what they clearly look like to me'; the personal construction, such as is usual with *δοκῶ, ἔοικα, λέγομαι* etc.: Plat. *Polit.* 280 B, *οὐκ ἔσπου τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν, ὡς φαίνει*.

22. **ἀνειμένῳ**—'unstrung', *dum sunt remissis animis*: i. 6, 1, *ἀνειμένῃ διαίτῃ*, 'easy, luxurious': ii. 39, 2, *ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι*. Classen adopts Krüger's suggestion of **ξυνταθῆναι** for the following **ξυνταχθῆναι**. No doubt the converse of *ἀνίημι* 'to slacken' is *ἐπιτείνω* 'to tighten', which is commonly found metaphorically used like the Latin *intendo*. *ξυντείνω* is also used in a somewhat similar way, e.g. Plat. *Phaed.* 98 D, as antithetical to *χαλῶ*: so *συντεταμένος*, id. *Euthyd.* 288 D: *Rep.* 504 E: Xen. *Oec.* ii. 18, *γνώμῃ συντεταμένῃ*. Here however **ξυνταχθῆναι** may well be a *military* metaphor, contrasting a 'close and firm array' of mind with the 'loose and feeble' condition implied by *ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ*.

23. **δόξαν** 'ideas', lit. 'expectation'; as in the well-known passage ii. 42 (fin.), *ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης*. Brasidas means that the Athenians' ideas would be all abroad, in the confusion caused by a sudden attack.

27. **τοὺς μετὰ σεαυτοῦ**—see the end of ch. 6 for the amount of the force under Brasidas and Clearidas.

30. **ἐπεκθεῖν...ἐπείγεσθαι**—the only instance in Thucydides of the infinitive used for the 2nd person imperative. The construction, which has the subject in the nominative, is chiefly epic (Goodwin, § 101). The word *ἐπεκθεῖν* is used in iv. 34, 1, of soldiers in the field meeting the desultory attacks of light troops.

31. **φοβηθῆναι**—note the use of the aorist with **ἐλπίς**: iv. 9, 2 note. **τὸ...ἐπιόν**—the usual collective neuter, like *ὁπλιτικόν*, ch. 6, 23: cf. ii. 45, 1, *φθόνος τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον*.

36. **νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ κ.τ.λ.**—it is possible in this sentence to make **αἰσχύνεσθαι** and **πείθεσθαι** dependent on **ἐθέλειν**, in which case *τό* should be omitted before *αἰσχύνεσθαι*. More probably however the qualities of a good soldier are expressed by three coordinate infinitives. Classen makes this sense clearer by reading *νομίσατε* **τρία** *εἶναι* (with Stahl), in accordance with the scholiast's explanation, *ἐκ τριῶν γίγνεται τὸ καλῶς πολεμεῖν*. In similar sententious phrases a number is often named, e.g. i. 74, 1, *τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα παρεσχόμεθα*, followed by three accusatives. Classen also repeats *τό* with *πείθεσθαι*, as being necessary for a clear coordinate sense.

ib. **τὸ ἐθέλειν**—'readiness', 'alacrity'.—**αἰσχύνεσθαι** like *αἰσχυνή*, 'self respect', 'a sense of honour': ii. 13, 1, *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι*. *αἰδώς* is used in the same way; see i. 84, 3, *αἰδὼς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία*: cf. Hom. *Il.* v. 531, *αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἠὲ πέφανται*.

38. **ἢ ἀγαθοῖς κ.τ.λ.**—this sentence is complicated by the addition of accessory matter subordinate to the main ideas. Removing these accretions the outline stands thus:—(*νομίσατε*) *ἢ ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις κεκλῆσθαι, ἢ Ἀθηναίων τε δούλοις (κεκλῆσθαι), τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἕλλησι κωλυταῖς γενέσθαι ἐλευθερώσεως*. The choice put forward is between two pairs of things, all of which are in construction expressed as subjects of **ὑπάρχειν**. In the second half of the sentence the order is inverted by the figure called *chiasmus*.

ib. **ἀγαθοῖς γενομένοις**—'if you quit yourselves like men'. The speaker omits the offensive suggestion of *κακοῖς γενόμενοις* or the like in the corresponding clause. **κεκλῆσθαι** = 'the title of': ii. 37, 1, *δημοκρατία κέκληται*: iii. 82, 7, *ῥᾷον κακοῦργοι ὄντες δέξιοι κέκληνται*. The perfect tense denotes that the name is permanently acquired.

40. **Ἀθηναίων τε δούλοις**—*τε* is omitted in some manuscripts. If we retain it, we must suppose that a corresponding *καί* was intended, but owing to the insertion of additional clauses *τοῖς* **δὲ** *λοιποῖς* is written instead. With **δούλοις** understand *κεκλῆσθαι*. It is possible to supply *γενέσθαι*, but the sense is not so forcible or the rhythm of the sentence so good.

ib. **ἢν τὰ ἄριστα...πράξητε**—'if you are most fortunate': superlative of *εὖ πράσσειν*: vii. 71, 1, *μὴ χεῖρω πράξωσι*. Krüger quotes an instance of the adjective thus used from Xen. *Anab.* vi. 2, 8, *πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν*. **ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.**—explanatory

of *τὰ ἄριστα*. **ἀνδραποδισμοῦ**—selling or carrying off into slavery, while *δουλεία* is merely a general though invidious word for subjugation of any kind. As Arnold says, '*δοῦλος* is the general term, applying equally to political and domestic slavery; *ἀνδράποδον* applies exclusively to the latter'. *ἀνδραποδισμός*, like the following forms in *ωσις*, is active in force. *θανάτωσις* is not found elsewhere till Plutarch.

42. **καὶ δουλείαν**—this clause is loosely connected with the last but one. In construction *δουλείαν* is either to be taken with *ὑπάρχειν*, in conformity to the main outline of the sentence, or it is a cognate accusative connected with *δούλοις*, as if *δουλεύουσι* (dative participle) had been written. In illustration of the latter view Jowett cites Plato, *Rep.* 579 D, *ἔστιν ἄρα ὁ τῷ ὄντι τύραννος τῷ ὄντι δοῦλος τὰς μεγίστας θωπείας καὶ δουλείας*. To this we may add the construction of *ἀτιμίαν* after *ἀτίμους ἐποίησαν* in ch. 34, 15.

47. **ἔργῳ**—'in deed', opposed to *παραινέσαι*. It is not governed by *ἐπεξελθεῖν*, which does not take the dative in the sense of 'carrying out' or 'prosecuting' a plan, but either stands absolutely as here, or takes the accusative. See note on iv. 14, 3, *τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεξελθεῖν*, which is similar in construction to the present passage.

CHAPTER X

1. **ὁ μέν**—note the force of the following imperfects, and of the coordinate construction with *μέν* and *δέ*. While Brasidas, having made his speech, is now getting ready to sally out, Cleon is told of a movement on the enemy's part.

3. **Κλεαρίδα**—Doric genitive; ch. 25, 2, *ἐπὶ Πλειστόλα*: so i. 103, 2, *τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα*. In ch. 6, 27 we have *Κλεαρίδου*. **ἐπὶ τὰς Θρᾳκίας**—the Thracian gates seem to have led out on the north-eastern side of the town near the shore of the lake. The accusative with *ἐπί* denotes the quarter or direction in which the troops under Clearidas were appointed to serve. We may compare such phrases as *καθιστάναι ἐπὶ ἀρχήν*, etc.

5. **ἐπεξίοιεν**—here *ἐπί* in composition probably denotes the attack to be made by a *reserve* force, though it may simply mean 'sally out to attack'.

ib. **τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι**—cf. iv. 93, 2, *τῷ δὲ Ἱπποκράτει...ὡς αὐτῷ ἠγγέλθη*. **φανεροῦ γενομένου**—with this are connected *καταβάντος* and the two following present participles. For the construction cf. Hdt. v. 26, *ἀπικόμενοι φανεροί εἰσιν*: so Ar. *Vesp.* 735, *δῆλός ἐστιν εὖ ποιῶν*: the adjective with *εἰμί* being constructed like the corresponding verb.

8. **Ἀθηνᾶς**—from contracted nom. Ἀθηνᾶ = Ἀθηναία: see Lid. and Scott. **θυομένου**—the middle is used of the general who took the auspices by causing victims to be slain; so ch. 54, 7. This use of the word is common in Herodotus and Xenophon. **ταῦτα**—*τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον* (Poppo): but according to Krüger and others referring to *θυομένου* and denoting the ceremonial accompaniments of the sacrifice.

9. **τότε**—referring, as does **τὴν** *θέαν*, to what has been already said in ch. 7, 21. **ἅπασα** is emphatic, for Cleon thought the city was feebly guarded; see the latter part of ch. 7.

11. **ὑπὸ τὰς...ὑποφαίνονται**—the meaning is not perfectly clear, for *ὑπό* may mean either 'under' or 'close up to', and similarly *ὑποφαίνομαι* may mean either 'apparere *sub*' or '*sub*-apparere'. To translate 'The feet of horses and men are to be seen under the gate' gives a good sense; for the Athenians, as shown in Arnold's note, might have got up close to the walls, and the roadway being worn hollow there would be a space at the bottom of the gates. For the accusative cf. ii. 17, 1, *τὸ Πελασγικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*. On the other hand the rendering 'there are signs of', etc. gives a more feeble conclusion of the sentence, especially after *ἅπαντα...φανερά* in the preceding clause, and is therefore, I think, less desirable, though quite consistent with the Greek. With this latter view it has been rather oddly suggested that *πόδες* may mean the *sound* of horses' hoofs.

13. **ἐπῆλθεν** 'came up'. **πρὶν...ἥκειν**—'*πρίν* with the infinitive after a negative is rare in the Attic poets, but more frequent in Attic prose' (Goodwin § 106, 2): so i. 68, 2, *οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν*: i. 39, 2, etc. Note the dative **οἱ** with **ἥκειν**, a construction not uncommon with *ἐλθεῖν*.

16. **σημαίνειν...ἀναχώρησιν**—editors give no exact parallel to this cognate construction. The nearest is from Xen. *Anab.* iv. 3, 29, *ἐπειδὰν ὁ σαλπιγκτὴς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν*.

ib. **παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι**—'passed the word to the retiring force'. Classen reads *παρήγγελλε*, with some manuscript authority. *παραγγέλλω*, like *σημαίνω*, is a technical word for giving military orders; so *παραγγέλσεις*, ch. 66, 15. We might rather expect *ἀπιοῦσι* without *τοῖς*: see however note on ch. 5, 9. *οἱ ἀπιόντες* are the troops who had begun to carry out the order of *ἀναχώρησις*.

17. **ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον**—with *ἐπάγειν*. The following note of Arnold's shows how things stood. 'The army was drawn up in line fronting Amphipolis, and as the left was nearest Eion,

the movement of retreat would naturally begin with that part of the army. Meantime the right should have maintained their position, and continued to face the enemy, in order to check pursuit till the other part of the army was fairly on its march to Eion'.

18. **ὑπάγειν**—of an orderly and deliberate retreat: so iv. 126, 6, *κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει ὑπαγαγόντες*. Eion was on the left bank of the river, like Amphipolis.

19. **σχολὴ γίγνεσθαι**—if the nominative *σχολή* is right, we must compare such phrases (mostly negative) as *οὐκ αὐτῷ σχολή (ἐστι)*. *σχολὴ γίγνεταί τινι* thus means 'a man finds he has (lit. gets) time', *γίγνεται* instead of *ἐστί* implying a change in the look of circumstances: so iv. 68, 5, *ἀσφάλεια δὲ αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἐγίγνετο τῆς ἀνοίξεως*. The meaning then is that Cleon no longer thought it necessary for the right wing to stand fast in order to cover the retreat, but supposed that the whole army might be safely withdrawn.

σχολῇ—'at leisure', i.e. in a slow and dilatory manner, has some manuscript authority, and is read by Krüger and Classen. It would mean that Cleon became uneasy and impatient at the time taken to carry out his orders, and so made a premature movement which proved disastrous. The subject of *γίγνεσθαι* is then to be supplied from the context; as in ch. 64, 20. For the adverbial use of *σχολῇ* cf. iii. 46, 2, *εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῇ καὶ τάχυ ξυμβῆναι*.

20. **ἐπιστρέψας τὸ δεξιόν**—the Athenians were fronting the town in line, looking west; they now faced to the left, and the line became a column heading southwards towards Eion. The right flank, which was not covered by the shield, was thus exposed to attack. For the military usage of *ἐπιστρέφω* and *ἐπιστροφή* see ii. 90, 3, *ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς*: cf. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1045, *δαΐων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιστροφαί*. We have **τὰ γυμνά** in ch. 71, 6, also *γύμνωσις ib.* line 12: cf. iii. 23, 4, *ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά*.

21. **ὅτι**—introducing the actual words; so i. 137, 4, *ἐδήλου δ' ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρὰ σέ*: so iv. 38, 2. For **μένουσι** Krüger reads *μενοῦσι*, but the present seems more forcible and appropriate. Krüger also reads **δῆλοι δή** and objects to **τοὺς ἐπιόντας** as otiose, and probably a gloss. In similar sentences however *δέ* often introduces an explanation or reason for a preceding statement. And *ἐπιόντας* has considerable force, viz. that 'a sudden onset' would be likely to rout unsteady troops like the Athenians.

27. **ἀνοιγέτω**—*ἀνοίγω* is the usual Thucydidean form; iv. 68, 3; iv. 74, 1, etc. The imperative use of **τις** commonly implies 'any one (every one) concerned', as in ch. 20, 6; but the usage here is slightly different. **ᾗ εἴρηται**—sc. *ἀνοίγειν*.

29. **τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας**—Thucydides does not tell us what this *σταύρωμα* was; but Grote's view is probably right, that it was an outwork constructed by Brasidas to secure the bridge over the Strymon. We learn from iv. 102, 2, that Amphipolis stood on a peninsula and was fortified by a wall from a point in the river's course above the city to a point below. In iv. 103, 4 we find that the bridge, which seems undoubtedly to have been below the city, was some distance from the fortress, and was not then connected with it by walls. Brasidas however had now held Amphipolis for eighteen months, and would no doubt have secured his hold on the bridge, the possession of which was of vital importance. He appears to have constructed a palisade, extending from a point in the city walls, and touching the river at some point below the bridge, which was thus brought within the line of defence. It is plain from the first part of chapter 8 that Brasidas had full command over crossing the river when he pleased.

The 'gate to the stockade' then led first into the space enclosed between the original wall and the new outwork; while the 'first gate in the long wall' was above the starting point of the stockade, and led directly out. The words **τότε ὄντος** show that the works had been altered when Thucydides wrote.

31. **τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην εὐθεῖαν**—for this accusative 'of the space traversed' cf. Eur. *Med.* 384, *κράτιστα τὴν εὐθεῖαν* (sc. *ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι*). **ταύτην** denotes the road at the place spoken of, further explained by **ᾗπερ** *κ.τ.λ.* *οὗτος* thus used is often to be rendered 'that'. **εὐθεῖαν** is predicate; lit. 'taking it straight'. The meaning is that Brasidas led his men straight up towards the ridge on which Cleon was posted; see ch. 7, 18. **τὸ καρτερώτατον** seems to be the steepest part of the ascent to this ridge, which connected the hill on which Amphipolis stood with the higher eminence of Mount Pangaeus to the east of the city.

32. **ἰόντι**—so i. 24, 1, *Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον.*

38. **ξυνέβη τε**—'and so it fell out'. This phrase, as Classen points out, is used of 'various concurrent circumstances', as in ch. 14, 1, etc. Here however it rather sums up and states the general result of 'concurrent circumstances', as phrases with *τε* are commonly used to conclude an account; e.g. iv. 26, 5, *παντί τε τρόπῳ ἑκάτεροι ἐτεχνῶντο.*

ib. **καὶ ἐξαπίνης**—probably to be taken with *τῷ*, though the connexion of an adverb with an adjective is certainly awkward. Poppo therefore proposes, with some manuscript authority, to leave out *καί* and to take *ἐξαπίνης* with the following infinitive, comparing iv. 36, 2, where *ἐξαπίνης* and *τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ* occur in the same clause.

42. **ἐπιπαριών**—with the dative this word implies passing along to attack; *πλησιάζων ἐπετίθετο τῷ δεξιῷ* (schol.). In iv. 94, 2, the same word is used with the accusative of passing along the lines of a friendly army: so vi. 67, 4, with *ἕκαστα*. In iv. 108, 3, and vii. 76, we find it without a case following. Similarly *ἔπειμι* and *ἐπῆλθον* with the dative commonly denote hostile approach, but not so with the accusative. In Xenophon *ἐπιπάρειμι* is used of light troops advancing parallel to a marching army.

43. **πεσόντα αὐτόν**—Classen notes that this and viii. 102, 1, are the only passages where the aorist participle is used with *αἰσθάνομαι* to denote what has just happened. In 24 passages the present or perfect participle is found. See also ch. 30, 3.

45. **ἔμενε μᾶλλον**—several MSS. have *ἔμενέ τε*, which is defended by Arnold as being answered by *καὶ ἠμύνοντο*, and giving the sense 'the right wing not only kept its ground, but, though Cleon himself fled, and was killed, the soldiers formed in a ring and repulsed Clearidas in two or three attacks'. In favour of this view may be alleged the well known rule that in sentences coordinately constructed with *μέν* and *δέ* the clause with *μέν* (*ὁ μὲν* Κλέων) is often subordinate in sense. See note on iv. 80, 3, *προκρίναντες ἐς δισχιλίους, οἱ μέν...οἱ δέ κ.τ.λ.*

48. **οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ ξυστραφέντες**—the subject of this clause is *οἱ αὐτοῦ ὁπλῖται*, and the words *ξυστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον*, 'rallying, or closing together on the hill', are in apposition. **ξυστραφέντες** is put out of its grammatical place for the sake of the rhythm of the sentence, as noted on iv. 24, 2, *ὁρῶντες τὰς μὲν παρούσας ὀλίγας ναῦς*, where *ὀλίγας* is the predicate. Compare the order in ch. 41, 1, *οἱ πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν.*

From the position of **αὐτοῦ** we should naturally assume it to be the adverb of place rather than the personal pronoun, which would regularly take the order *οἱ ὁπλῖται αὐτοῦ*, as in line 40. Poppo however takes it to be the pronoun, and compares iii. 22, 4, *ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν φυλακῆς*: iii. 91, 1, *ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν ξυμμαχικόν*: viii. 48, 4, *ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ*. But in all these passages the reading *αὑτῶν* or *αὑτοῦ* can be supported, and is probably right; see note on ch. 71, 3. Here at any rate the adverbial

meaning 'on the spot' gives an excellent sense, contrasting the right wing, which stood its ground, with the left, which had retreated.

50. **καὶ δὶς ἢ τρίς**—so i. 82, 3, *διελθόντων ἐτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν*. With this emphatic use of *καί* may be compared *καὶ ἅπαντες*, etc. Similar to it is the Tacitean use of *quoque* for *even*, lit. 'not only...but also'.

53. **οὕτω δέ**—Classen reads Krüger's suggestion *οὕτω δή*, the usual phrase for *tum demum*, e.g. i. 131, 1, *οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον*. **τὸ στράτευμα**, the subject of the sentence, is resolved by partial apposition into *ὅσοι μή...οἱ λοιποί*: cf. iv. 68, 2, *οἱ φρουροὶ... ἠμύνοντο ὀλίγοι...οἱ δὲ πλείους*.

54. **χαλεπῶς**—this adverb is used emphatically of a disastrous or hard-pressed retreat; iii. 23, 4, *χαλεπῶς καὶ βιαίως*: iv. 25, 6, *χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρησαν*. For **ἐν χερσί** see ch. 3, 14.

58. **οἱ δὲ τὸν Βρασίδαν ..ἐτελεύτησεν**—there is a singular beauty in the simple form of this sentence, especially in the closing cadence. The sound of *ἐτελεύτησεν* recalls *ἀπηλλάγησαν* in the funeral speech of Pericles (ii. 42 fin.), and may be added to the reasons for there taking *ἀπηλλάγησαν* absolutely, 'they passed away'.

61. **νικῶσι**—'are victorious'; for this use of the present cf. *ἀδικῶ*, *φεύγω*, etc.; see Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 10, n. 5.

63. **νεκρούς**—the article is omitted with *νεκρούς* i. 54, 4: iv. 14, 4, etc.: so often with words which are repeatedly found in a particular context, as *παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες* (of a captured town), *μέσον* (of an army), etc. Such words get in fact a definite force of their own, and can dispense with the article. See note on *πόλεως* iv. 18, 2, and *μέσον* iv. 31, 2.

CHAPTER XI

3. **ἔθαψαν**—it appears from Xen. *Hel.* vii. 3, 12 that this was the special honour of founders and benefactors of cities.

The historian says of Euphron, a military adventurer of Sicyon, *οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἔθαψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ...*

καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται. To show the rarity of such honours Arnold cites Cic. *Ep. Fam.* iv. 12, 3, where we find the Athenians refusing a place of sepulture within their walls to M. Marcellus, 'quod religione se impediri dicerent; neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant'.

5. **περιέρξαντες**—elsewhere Thucydides uses the forms of *εἴργω*, and one manuscript here has *περιείρξαντες*. *ξυνέρξετε* is found Soph. *Aj.* 593.

6. **ἐντέμνουσι**—*ἐντέμνω*, according to the scholiast, like *ἔντομα* and *ἐναγίζω*, is properly used of offerings to the dead, or to the powers below, as opposed to sacrifices to the gods above. In the latter case the victim's throat was held up and pierced; in the former its head was struck off on the ground. The present **ἐντέμνουσι** and perfect **δεδώκασι** imply a custom still continuing. Classen considers the style of expression appropriate to a writer who was connected with the neighbourhood, as we know that Thucydides was (iv. 105, 1).

8. **προσέθεσαν**—thus making Brasidas their tutelary hero.

9. **τὰ Ἁγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα**—public buildings which commemorated Hagnon's name as founder. These would include a shrine in his honour, if he was dead. He may however have been still alive, as it was only 15 years since he established the city (iv. 102, 3). In 429 we find him in Thrace (ii. 95, 3). The name of Hagnon occurs in ch. 19, 2, and ch. 24, 1, among the Athenian signatories, and in viii. 68, 4, we have a Hagnon mentioned as the father of Theramenes.

10. **εἴ τι μνημόσυνον**—'si quod aliud deductionis eius monumentum superfuturum erat': cf. Hdt. i. 185, *μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο*, of material works executed by queen Nitocris. **αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως**—*αὐτοῦ* refers to the preceding adjective *Ἁγνώνεια*. The actual construction of the genitives is open to some doubt. Probably *αὐτοῦ* depends on *οἰκίσεως*, the more emphatic word standing first. It is however quite possible to take *αὐτοῦ* as dependent directly on *μνημόσυνον*, in which case *τῆς οἰκίσεως* is added, as a 'genitive of further definition' and depends on the combined *μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ*.

11. **σωτῆρά τε**—the two main divisions of the sentence are **τὸν μὲν** *Βρασίδαν*...**τὸν δὲ** *Ἅγνωνα*. The first of these divisions is expanded by a subordinate *τε* and *καί*, connecting the two ideas which led the citizens thus to honour Brasidas; gratitude to Brasidas himself, and a desire at the same time to court the

favour of Sparta. The construction as usual is modified by putting in a fresh governing participle; cf. ch. 28, 10, *ὁρῶντες τόν τε πόλεμον ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι.*

14. **τὸ πολέμιον τῶν**—'their hostility to Athens': in iii. 56, 2, *τῷ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ* is 'their hostile feelings'.

15. **ὁμοίως**—probably 'as formerly': so i. 99, 2, *ἦσαν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἄρχοντες.* Krüger however understands 'as Brasidas'. **ἡδέως**—sc. *σφίσι*, according to the scholiast; but possibly *Ἅγνωνι*, for Hagnon, whether alive or dead, would be dishonoured in his sacred character of founder by the homage of a revolted town.

18. **ἑπτά**—'so in the great battle of Corinth, fought B.C. 394, only eight Lacedaemonians were killed (Xen. *Hel.* iv. 3. 1). For such was the Spartan skill and discipline that, till their ranks were broken, they fought almost without risk' (Arnold).

19. **τοιαύτης**—referring to the description already given. **προεκφοβήσεως** is active in force. The word seems to occur nowhere else in classical Greek: *φόβησις* is not found and *ἐκφόβησις* has no classical authority.

23. **καθίσταντο**—as usual, of political arrangements. For the imperfect, see note on ch. 3, 30.

CHAPTER XII

2. **Ῥαμφίας**—father of the Clearchus of Xenophon's *Anabasis.* In viii. 8, 2, and 39, 2, we find Clearchus holding a command in the Hellespont. **ἦγον**—'were on their way with'. An intended reinforcement had miscarried the year before owing to the influence of Perdiccas with the Thessalian chiefs (iv. 132, 2).

5. **ἐς Ἡράκλειαν**—the Lacedaemonian colony and place of arms at the foot of mount Oeta: cf. iii. 93, 94: iv. 78, note.

CHAPTER XIII

2. **Πιερίου**—unknown; Arnold supposes it to be 'a town of Thessaly, not far from Metropolis, and from the road leading from Pellinaeum and Athamania to Larissa'. Livy speaks of Piera (xxxii. 15) and Pieria (xxxvi. 14), for which Pialia or Cieria, the names of known places, have been proposed as emendations.

ib. **οἱ περί**—including Rhamphias himself; so iv. 33, 1, *οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπιτάδαν*: viii. 56, 1, *οἱ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον πρέσβεις.*

3. **κωλυόντων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν**—the Thessalians, at the instigation of Perdiccas, had hindered Ischagoras from bringing reinforcements the year before (iv. 132, 2); and Brasidas was obliged to pass through Thessaly by stratagem in 424 (iv. 78).

ib. **καὶ ἅμα**—giving an important reason, which is further emphasized by **ᾧπερ**. **ἥσσῃ**—'on, by reason of, being defeated', dative of the efficient cause.

8. **κἀκεῖνος**—'he on his part'; lit. 'they themselves were incompetent to carry out the plans which *he also* had in contemplation'. The *καί* emphasizes *ἐκεῖνος* by a co-ordination which is really false in sense. Jowett compares iv. 62, 3, *τιμωρία οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως ὅτι καὶ εὔελπι*, and says 'in Greek the word *καί* commonly adheres to the standard of comparison (cf. *ὥσπερ καί*), in English the corresponding word adheres to the person or thing compared'.

9. **τὴν εἰρήνην**—the article denotes the peace which was thought of and discussed.

CHAPTER XIV

1. **ξυνέβη...ὥστε**—so Hdt. iii. 14, *συνήνεικε ὥστε* with inf. in a similar sense. Classen also compares i. 28, 3, *ἑτοῖμοι ὥστε*: i. 11, 9, *δεηθέντες ὥστε*, and other like instances. Only one clause is affected by *ὥστε*, after which the general story goes

on with the indicative: so viii. 5, 2, ἀναπείθεται Ἆγις ὥστε Εὐβοίας μὲν πέρι ἐπισχεῖν, τοῖς δὲ Λεσβίοις παρεσκεύαζε τὴν ἀπόστασιν.

The subject of **εἶχον** is resolved into two divisions, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι...οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (line 14), and the construction is continued, chiefly in participial clauses, passing into the indicative towards the end of each division.

6. **πληγέντες**—of a severe blow: iv. 108, 5, ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς νεωστὶ πεπληγμένων, of the same defeat at Delium. **ἐπὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ**—the battle of Delium was fought in the winter of 424: it is described in iv. 96. It was followed by the reduction of the fort which the Athenians had occupied (iv. 100). For the use of **ἐπί** for *in* or *at* cf. ch. 15, 10.

8. **τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης**—'their confidence in their strength'; cf. ii. 89, 8, καταλῦσαι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ.

ῥώμη is here used of material power, as in iv. 18, 2, διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν νῦν ῥώμην πόλεως: so vii. 63 (fin.) opposed to ἀσθένεια, καὶ μετὰ ἀσθενείας καὶ ξυμφορῶν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐπιστήμη κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἑτέρας εὐτυχούσης ῥώμης. In iv. 29, 2, καὶ αὐτῷ ῥώμην ἡ νῆσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα παρέσχε, it denotes mental confidence: so vii. 18, 1, τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγεγένητό τις ῥώμη. There are besides two well-known passages where the word occurs, ii. 43, 3, ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος...θάνατος: vii. 75, 3, εἴ τῳ προλείποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα. In both of these passages Liddell and Scott take ῥώμη in the sense of physical vigour, while Krüger understands it to mean spirit and confidence.

The passive of ῥώννυμι seems generally used of eagerness and confidence: e.g. ii. 8, 1, ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον: iv. 72, 1, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐρρώσθησαν: vi. 17, 6, εἰ πάνυ ἔρρωνται: so ἐπέρρωσε, 're-encouraged', iv. 36, 2.

9. **ᾗπερ**—for the dative cf. ἐλπίδι ii. 42, 5: ii. 44, 3. **πρότερον**—see iv. 21 and 41. **τῇ παρούσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ**—cf. iv. 14, 3, βουλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, where Classen takes the dative as not governed by ἐπεξελθεῖν, a view which the present phrase confirms.

11. **ἐδεδίεσαν**—this form occurs iv. 55, 3; and as a var. lect. for ἔδεισαν iv. 117, 2. In several passages in other authors it is the manuscript reading. Grammatical authority is however in favour of ἐδέδισαν: see Veitch's *Irregular Verbs*, under δίω.

13. **μετεμέλοντο**—this word is usually constructed with a

participle, as in ch. 35, 20: iv. 27, 2, *μετεμέλοντο τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι.* Here *ὅτι* is used, probably to avoid the juxtaposition of two participles. **καλῶς παρασχόν**—so i. 120, 3, *εὖ παρασχὸν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι*: iv. 85, 2, *ὅτε παρέσχεν.*

14. **οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι**—see iv. 41 and 55, where the despondency of the Spartans at this time is described in very similar language. For the mixture of participial constructions in this part of the sentence cf. iv. 8, 3, *διὰ ταχέων εἰργασμένον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων*, and the passages there cited.

16. **ὀλίγων ἐτῶν**—'within a few years': ch. 74, 2.

18. **ἐν τῇ νήσῳ**—the usual expression for Sphacteria, as in ch. 15, 4. **γεγένητο**—vii. 18, 2, *ἐγεγένητο.*

19. **λῃστευομένης**—see iv. 41 and 54 seq. **προσδοκίας... μή**—*προσδοκία* here implies fear or suspicion, and accordingly is followed by *μή*: so ii. 93, 2. Similarly *μή* follows *ὑποτοπῶ*, ii. 13, 1, and *ὑποπτεύω*, iii. 53, 2. **τοῖς ἔξω**—so iv. 66, 2, *οἱ φίλοι τῶν ἔξω.* **πίσυνος** is found in ii. 89, 4, *τῇ δυνάμει πίσυνοι*, and vi. 2, 6: but not elsewhere in Attic prose. It is used by Herodotus, and by the poets.

22. **πρὸς τὰ παρόντα**—cf. iv. 80, 1, *μή τι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τῆς Πύλου ἐχομένης νεωτερίσωσιν.* **ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον** refers to the rising of the Helots in 465 (i. 101 seq.).

23. **ξυνέβαινε**—see note on ch. 10, 38. **τριακονταέτεις**—most manuscripts have this form or *τριακονταετεῖς*. Classen reads *τριακοντούτεις* with one manuscript, on the analogy of i. 23, 4, and other passages where that form occurs. There are however instances of the resolved form in Xenophon: and Thucydides has *πεντηκονταετίδων* in ch. 32, 22. It is in fact impracticable to insist on absolute uniformity even in the same author.

25. **ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ**—the same expression is used in ch. 28, 11; so that the truce lasted at any rate till 421.

26. **εἰ μή τις**—so iv. 68, 5, *εἰ μὴ πείσεταί τις*: see note on ch. 10, 27. **τὴν Κυνοσουρίαν γῆν**—on the borders of Argos and Laconia, iv. 56, 3: see also ch. 41, 6. Another form is *Κυνουρία* (Hdt. viii. 73 etc.), which is also read here in some manuscripts.

27. **ὥστ' ἀδύνατα**—i.e. therefore they must make terms with Athens, as difficulties impended on the side of Argos.

There is a similar condensation of the logical conclusion with ὥστε at the end of iv. 85. For the neuter plural ἀδύνατα cf. note on iv. 1, 2, ἀδύνατα ἦν.

30. **ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο**—see ch. 29 seq.

CHAPTER XV

3. **οὐχ ἧσσον**—the usual *litotes* for 'especially'; ii. 52, 1, ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς...καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας.

ib. **ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν...κομίσασθαι**—the infinitive is added in explanation of the genitive. Poppo compares Plat. *Crito* 14 A, οὐδ' ἐπιθυμία σε ἄλλης πόλεως οὐδ' ἄλλων νόμων ἔλαβεν εἰδέναι: Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 2. 31, οὐ δύναμαι ἐννοῆσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν οὐδὲ μίαν πορείαν ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν Βαβυλῶνα πορείας ἰέναι. For **τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου** cf. iv. 108 (fin.) βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι. It is a pregnant use of the preposition implying getting *back* the men who had been taken *in* the island: cf. ch. 34, 10, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ληφθέντας.

5. **οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτῶν**—'those of them who were Spartans', about 120 in number, iv. 38, 4. For the partitive genitive cf. iv. 61, 2, οἱ Δωριῆς ἡμῶν: iv. 126, 3, τοῖς Μακεδόσιν αὐτῶν.

6. **πρῶτοί τε κ.τ.λ.**—'either chief men or no less intimately connected with them', i.e. with the home authorities, who were conducting the negotiations. For the half technical use of πρῶτοι cf. iv. 105, 1, δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις: iv. 132, 2, χρώμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς πρώτοις. At Sparta the word seems to have denoted some definite rank, though we do not know what.

τε and **καί** in this sentence have, I believe, a *disjunctive* force as in ii. 42, 2, πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα. **ὁμοίως** then means, not 'all equally', but 'as much as the πρῶτοι themselves'; while **σφίσι** refers to the Lacedaemonian government, the main subject of the whole sentence according to sense if not in actual construction.

The words as they stand will fairly bear a satisfactory sense; but many editors believe that there is something wrong in the text, while some consider that ὁμοίως is a corruption of some form denoting the ὁμοῖοι or 'peers', who were the leading caste among the free Spartans. Reiske accordingly proposes ὁμοίων, and Bekker ὁμοίοις, 'related to them (who were) their

peers', *σφίσιν* referring to *Σπαρτιᾶται*. Krüger suggests *τῶν ὁμοίων* 'belonging to the peers', leaving out *σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς* as an interpolated gloss. Stahl prefers *ὁμοῖοι σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς* = *ἅτε ὁμοῖοι ὄντες*.

Plutarch (*Nic.* 10) says *οἱ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν ἐξ οἴκων τε πρώτων τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες*, but these last words are a mere paraphrase, and do not help us to determine the reading in Thucydides. They are at any rate not sufficient to justify what Classen proposes to read, *πρῶτοί τε καὶ οἴκοις ἐπιφανέσι ξυγγενεῖς*.

7. **ἦρξαντο**—see iv. 15 seq. The negotiations were broken off by the overbearing conduct and rough behaviour of Cleon, but it must be remembered that the Spartans are not recorded to have offered any terms which the Athenians could fairly be expected to agree to. **οὔπως**—the reading of the best manuscripts, cited from this passage by the grammarians Photius and Suidas. *οὔπω* has also good manuscript authority.

8. **εὖ φερόμενοι**—so ch. 16, 12: ii. 60, 2, *καλῶς φερόμενος*. *φέρεσθαι* denotes movement, as we say 'going on well', and speak of 'a prosperous course'. **ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ**—so i. 27, 1, *ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ*. Such feminine phrases are common; see note on *ἐξ ἐναντίας*, iv. 33, 2.

11. **μᾶλλον ἂν δεξαμένους**—several manuscripts have *ἂν ἐνδεξομένους*: some omit *ἄν*, or read *ἐνδεξαμένους*. There are undoubtedly instances, such as vi. 20, 1, and vii. 67 (fin.), in which the manuscript authority is in favour of *ἄν* with the future participle; while in others the future infinitive is found with *ἄν*, as in ii. 80 (fin.) and viii. 25 (fin.) In such cases the manuscript reading was generally retained by the older editors, but modern critics omit *ἄν* or change the future into the aorist.

12. **τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεχειρίαν**—see iv. 117 seq. **ἔδει**—i.e. as was then arranged; the imperfect refers to the time when the treaty was made. **τοῦ πλείονος χρόνου**—see note on iv. 30 (fin.), *περὶ τοῦ πλέονος*.

CHAPTER XVI

4. **ἀμφοτέρωθεν**—at Athens and Sparta.

5. **ἠναντιοῦντο**—so Plut. *Nic.* 9, *οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρασίδας ἦσαν, ὧν ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυπτε τὴν κακίαν τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκόσμει.*

6. **ὁ δὲ...διαβάλλων**—'and the other because he fancied that in quiet times his rogueries would be more transparent and his slanders less credible' (Jowett). No doubt Cleon had been the main promoter of war since the affair of Sphacteria; but, according to the historian's own testimony, it is the grossest injustice to ascribe the policy which he advocated to personal motives only and those of the lowest kind.

8. **τότε δέ**—'then, I say'; an instance of *δέ* used resumptively after a parenthetical interruption: so i. 11, 1, *ἐπειδὴ δὲ... φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα κ.τ.λ.* There is a slight manuscript authority for *τότε δή*, which is adopted by Krüger.

ib. **οἱ ἐν**—these two words are found in three manuscripts, and are read by most editors. Classen however omits them, and takes *ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ πόλει* as governed by *σπεύδοντες*, comparing Eur. *Iph. T.* 579, *ὑμῖν τ' ὄνησιν, ὦ ξένοι, σπεύδουσ' ἅμα κἀμοί.* **σπεύδοντες** means 'anxiously promoting', 'eager for'; vi. 10, 2, *ὅπερ νῦν σπεύδομεν*: vi. 40, 1, *κακὰ σπεύδοντες.* There seems however no other instance of a substantive thus governed without a dative. This is in favour of Classen's view. I should incline to retain *οἱ* and omit *ἐν*.

10. **ἡγεμονίαν**—this word is open to suspicion, as it is not elsewhere used of the civil ascendancy of a statesman in his own city, which would be the meaning here required. It denotes (1) the command in war, as in iv. 91, 2, *ἡγεμονίας οὔσης αὐτοῦ*: vii. 15, 2, *πολλὰ ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὑμᾶς εὖ ἐποίησα*: (2) the sovereign leadership held by a state such as Sparta or Athens. Such leadership would be attained by war rather than by peace; nor were Pleistoanax and Nicias the men to promote the supremacy of their respective countries. It has been suggested that it means a joint leadership of Greece by Athens and Sparta; but to give this force, some qualifying word, such as *κοινήν*, would be required. Some editors therefore propose *ὁμόνοιαν*, *ὁμολογίαν*, or some similar word, which gives good sense and agrees with ch. 17, 8, *προὐθυμήθη τὴν ξύμβασιν.*

Classen, following Stahl, takes a different view, and reads *μάλιστ' αὐτήν* (sc. *εἰρήνην*). He supposes that this had been corrupted into *μάλιστα τήν*, and then a substantive conjecturally supplied. Jowett suggests omitting *οἱ ἐν* and referring *τότε δὲ...ἡγεμονίαν* to Cleon and Brasidas, not to Pleistoanax and Nicias, 'these (Cleon and Brasidas) being at that time the two great champions for the supremacy of their respective states'. The apodosis then begins at *Πλειστοάναξ τε.* This gives an intelligible sense to *ἡγεμονίαν*, but the position of the clause is very awkward, and it seems clear that *τότε δέ* ought to begin the apodosis.

11. **πλεῖστα**—cognate or determinant accusative with *φερόμενος*. **εὖ φερόμενος**—ch. 15, 9. Nicias was indeed the only Athenian general of the day who had not met with some great disaster. Demosthenes had been totally defeated in Aetolia in 426. The commanders of the Sicilian expedition had been compelled to withdraw ignominiously in 424. In the same year Hippocrates was defeated and slain at Delium, and Thucydides lost Amphipolis. Cleon had perished at Amphipolis in 422.

14. **ἠξιοῦτο**—either (1) absolutely 'was held in honour', or (2) 'was so esteemed', referring to *ἀπαθὴς ἦν*. In support of the former view editors cite Porson on Eur. *Hec.* 319, *τύμβον δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ἀξιούμενον τὸν ἐμὸν ὁρᾶσθαι*.

I incline however to (2), for the use of *ἀξιῶ* meaning simply 'to honour', though found in the tragedians, seems not to occur elsewhere in Attic prose; and by rendering the words 'was so accounted' we get an excellent sense. It was his reputation as a successful general as well as his actual success which Nicias was anxious to preserve; and *ἠξιοῦτο* with this meaning is answered by *καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα* below, just as *πόνων πεπαῦσθαι* corresponds to *ἀπαθὴς ἦν*. So Demosthenes (*Lept.* 482) says of Chabrias, *δοκῶν καὶ ὢν ἀσφαλέστατος στρατηγὸς ἁπάντων*.

ib. **διασώσασθαι**—the aorist implies securing his good fortune by one definite act, such as the conclusion of peace.

15. **πεπαῦσθαι καὶ αὐτός**—i.e. *καὶ αὐτὸς πεπαῦσθαι*, or rather *παῦσαι* is added by a slight change of construction to govern *πολίτας*. See iii. 67, 6, *ἀμύνατε καὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἡμῖν...ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν*, where other instances are cited by Poppo.

17. **καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα**—cf. vi. 33, 6, *τοῖς ἐπιβουλευθεῖσιν ὄνομα καταλείπουσιν*: vi. 16, 5, *προσποίησιν ξυγγενείας καταλιπόντας*. **διεγένετο**—a second compound with *διά*, emphasizing the fact that Nicias did not retain his good fortune 'throughout his career': cf. Ar. *Av.* 45, *ὅπου καθιδρυθέντε διαγενοίμεθ' ἄν*.

19. **καὶ ὅστις**—lit. 'and (falls to a man) who', etc. Far harsher constructions with *ὅστις* are not uncommon: see instances cited on iii. 45, 5, *πολλῆς εὐηθείας, ὅστις οἴεται*: iv. 18, 2, *σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν, οἵτινες...ἔθεντο*.

Thucydides puts similar words in Nicias' mouth at the time of the Sicilian expedition, vi. 23, 3, *ὅ τι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παραδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι ἐκπλεῖν*. 'We can hardly suppose', says Professor Jowett, 'that Thucydides wrote these words without intending silently to recall to the reader's mind the singular contrast between the hopes of mortals

and their final destinies, or without a recollection of the old Greek saying, that no man could be called happy before he died. He who desires only peace may be the author of war; he who aims only at the safety of the state may, by the irony of fortune, be the prime mover in its destruction.'

22. **ἐς ἐνθυμίαν...προβαλλόμενος**—lit. 'put forward as a matter of (religious) anxiety', explained further by *ὡς διὰ κ.τ.λ.* The personal construction may be illustrated by such expressions as Ar. *Nub.* 1241, *Ζεὺς γέλοιος ὀμνύμενος*, 'it is absurd to swear by Zeus'.

The form *ἐνθυμία* seems not found elsewhere in classical Greek. The adjective *ἐνθύμιος* is however common, e.g. vii. 50, 4, *ἐνθύμιον ποιούμενοι*: Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 739, *τί δ' ἐστί σοι τοῦτ' ἐνθύμιον;* similarly *ἐνθυμεῖσθαι* is used of laying a thing to heart, as in ch. 32, 6.

23. **ὁπότε τι πταίσειαν**—for the construction cf. iv. 18, 3, *ἐλάχιστα πταίοντες*.

24. **παρανομηθεῖσαν**—'illegally effected'. This construction is best explained as the passive equivalent of a cognate accusative with the active. We say *ἀδικῶ τοῦτο*, 'I commit a wrong in this', and in the passive this becomes *τοῦτο ἀδικεῖται*, 'this is a wrong act'. The participle here has its predicative force, as in iii. 20, 1, *τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπιέζοντο*, 'they suffered from failure of the corn'. Classen takes it merely as part of the epithet, comparing for its position such passages as iii. 56, 1, *κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα*. This however weakens the sense: see note on iv. 87, 2, *τοῖς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν χρήμασι φερομένοις παρ' Ἀθηναίους*.

25. **τὴν πρόμαντιν**—so Hdt. vi. 66, *Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπείθει*: id. vii. 111, *πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέουσα, κατά περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι*.

26. **πεῖσαι...ὥστε**—so iii. 70, 3, *πείθει ὥστε τῷ νόμῳ χρήσασθαι*: ii. 2, 4, *οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ὥστε εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι*: so ii. 101, 3, with *ἀναπείθεται*. This construction connects two ideas less immediately than if the simple infinitive were employed. The meaning here is that the result of their persuasion (or bribery) was that the priestess gave oracles in their interest. We have a double construction with *ὥστε* in viii. 45, 3, *τοὺς τριηράρχους ἐδίδασκεν ὥστε δόντα χρήματα αὐτὸν πεῖσαι ὥστε ξυγχωρῆσαι ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ*.

28. **ἐπὶ πολύ**—of extent of time, as in iv. 72, 2, where see note. **θεωροῖς ἀφικνουμένοις**—'when they came on the public behalf to consult the oracle'. 'On a former occasion, when the Pythoness was bribed by the Alcmaeonidae to inculcate on

the Spartans the duty of delivering Athens from the Pisistratidae, Herodotus says, that she repeated this charge not only to the *θεωροί*, who came on the public behalf, but also to any Lacedaemonian who consulted the oracle on his own private affairs. The duties of *θεωροί* at Sparta were performed by the four *Πύθιοι*, two being nominated by each of the kings, who were maintained with the kings at the public expense, and who together with them read the answers which the oracle returned. See Hdt. vi. 57: Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 15' (Arnold).

ib. **Διὸς υἱοῦ ἡμιθέου**—'the Heraclidae at Sparta were believed to hold the kingly power by an inalienable right, derived from the original compact made between their ancestors and the Dorians, when they jointly invaded Peloponnesus' (Arnold).

30. **ἀναφέρειν**—i. e. *κατάγειν*. *χράω* and similar words, like other words of commanding or warning, commonly take the present or aorist infinitive, in the sense of bidding or of oracular intimation. Sometimes, as in the next clause, when promise or prediction is especially implied, we have the future: ii. 102, 4, *λέγεται Ἀλκμαίωνι τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν*: i. 118, 3, *ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς νίκην ἔσεσθαι*: see Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 98

ib. **ἀργυρέᾳ εὐλάκᾳ εὐλάξειν**—meaning either that they should be obliged to purchase their corn at a great price, or that they should find agriculture costly and unprofitable. *εὐλάκα* is said to be an old Laconian word for a ploughshare, and *εὐλάξειν* to be equivalent to *ἀρόσειν*. Neither noun nor verb are found elsewhere.

31. **προτρέψαι**—the run of the sentence seems in favour of taking this as following *ὥστε* and, like *χρῆσαι*, referring to the *πρόμαντις*. Grammatically it might depend on *ἐπῃτιῶντο*, and correspond to *πεῖσαι* in construction. The following *αὐτόν* would then refer to Pleistoanax, the primary subject, according to the rule set forth by Poppo on i. 17, 1; see note on iv. 50 (fin.).

ib. **φεύγοντα...ἐς**—*φεύγειν* often means 'to be in exile', as in this passage, and in ch. 26, 28. It still however retains the construction of a verb of motion, and is followed by *ἐς* rather than by *ἐν*. **Λύκαιον**—ch. 54, 3, *πρὸς τὸ Λύκαιον*, the only other place in Thucydides where the word occurs. Lycaeus was a mountain in Arcadia, with a temple of *Ζεὺς Λύκαιος*.

32. **διὰ τὴν...ἀναχώρησιν**—this was in 445, (i. 114, 3: ii. 21, 1). **μετὰ δώρων δοκοῦσαν**—'propter suspicionem acceptae ob discessum pecuniae': so ii. 21, 1, *διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο*

ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. *δοκεῖν* in the sense of 'to be reputed' is often used like *videor*, to imply a judicial decision: *δοκῶ* = 'I am held (guilty)', *ἔδοξα* 'I was found (guilty)': cf. ch. 72, 5, *δόξαντας μαλακισθῆναι.*

There is some curtness in the use of *μετὰ δώρων* to mean 'effected by bribery', and the reading is not free from doubt. Most manuscripts have *δόκησιν* followed by *ἕως*. Suidas interprets *δώρων δόκησιν* as equivalent to *δωροδοκίαν*, and some commentators propose *δώρων δοκήσεως* in the same sense. There is however no sign of the existence of *δόκησις* in the sense of 'receiving' connected with *δέχομαι*: while it occurs several times in Thucydides as derived from *δοκῶ*. *δωροδόκησις* would be a word legitimately formed from *δωροδοκεῖν*, though it is not found in the lexicons; and possibly *μετὰ δωροδόκησιν* or *μετὰ δωροδοκήσεως* is the true reading, or else, as Stahl reads, *μετὰ δώρων δοκήσεως*, 'with the imputation of bribery'. Classen suggests, *μετὰ δωρωδοκήσεως δοκοῦσαν ἀναχώρησιν.*

33. **ἥμισυ τῆς οἰκίας**—these words are governed directly by *οἰκοῦντα*, and **τοῦ ἱεροῦ** is predicative: it is the partitive genitive, 'belonging to the temple'. Half of the house in which he lived at this time was in the sacred precinct of Zeus. 'The reason was, that he might be in sanctuary at an instant's notice, and yet might be able to perform some of the common offices of life without profanation, which could not have been the case had the whole dwelling been within the precinct' (Arnold). In the same way Pausanias, when threatened with arrest, fled to the temple of Athene of the Brazen House, *καὶ ἐς οἴκημα οὐ μέγα ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθὼν... ἡσύχαζεν* (i. 134, 2).

ἥμισυ is found without the article i. 8, 1, *ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν*: viii. 68, 4, *ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ τοῦ χρόνου*. It is one of the terms which from frequent use acquire a definite force, just as we say 'half the time'. There is too a general tendency to omit the article in such prepositional phrases.

34. **φόβῳ τῶν**—many manuscripts have *φόβῳ τῷ*, but *τῶν* is the usual form, as in ch. 11, 13.

35. **ἔτει**—this was in 426 or thereabouts, for the retreat for which he was banished was in 445; see line 32. During his banishment his son Pausanias, a minor, was king (iii. 26, 2). **τοὺς βασιλέας**—Eurysthenes and Procles, twin sons of Aristodemus; see Hdt. vi. 52.

CHAPTER XVII

5. **ἀνεπίληπτος**—'not open to attack, or censure': Eur. *Or.* 922, ἀνεπίληπτον (var. lect.) ἠσκηκὼς βίον: Xen. *Anab.* vii. 6, 37, ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 406, ἐπίληπτος ἡρέθη: and see ἐπιλαμβάνω.

6. **ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμφορῶν**—ἀπό, 'from', denotes the origin and cause: ii. 25, 2, ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος ἐπῃνέθη.

7. **προὐθυμήθη τὴν ξύμβασιν**—the cognate construction (τι, τοῦτο etc.) is here extended to the substantive: so viii. 90, 2, τὴν ὁμολογίαν προὐθυμοῦντο: viii. 1, 1, τοῖς ξυμπροθυμηθεῖσι τὸν ἔκπλουν.

8. **καὶ τόν τε**—the punctuation in the text is that of Poppo and Krüger, according to which τόν τε χειμῶνα ᾔεσαν is answered by **καὶ** πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ παρασκευή **τε** προεπανεσείσθη...**καὶ** ἐπειδή. 'The final result (τότε δή) was due first of all to the threatening attitude of the Lacedaemonians; secondly, to the circumstance that the commissioners of both parties were just then finding, after many disputes, a possible basis of agreement' (Jowett). The second division of this sentence is inconveniently long and complicated, and possibly Classen is right in putting a stop after πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἤδη (sc. ᾔεσαν ἐς λόγους), and beginning a fresh sentence with παρασκευή τε.

9. **πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ**—so ch. 39, 20. **ἤδη**—ch. 59, 3, ἡμέρας ἤδη: i. 30 (fin.) χειμῶνος ἤδη. **προεπανεσείσθη** = προηπειλήθη, as explained by the scholiast, 'there were threatening demonstrations of an expedition on the part of Lacedaemon'. It is a metaphor from brandishing a weapon at a foe; cf. iv. 126, 4, ἡ ἐπανάσεισις τῶν ὅπλων ἔχει τινὰ δήλωσιν ἀπειλῆς: see ἐπανασείω.

10. **ἀπό**—'on the side of'; iii. 65, 5, γνῶμαι ἀφ' ἑκάστων ἐλέγοντο. **περιαγγελλομένη**—ii. 85, 2, ναῦς περιήγγελλον κατὰ πόλεις: see note on iv. 8, 2. περιαγγέλλω in this sense takes either the infinitive, or an accusative of the force demanded.

11. **ὡς ἐπὶ τειχισμόν**—several manuscripts have ὡς ἐπιτειχισμόν, and Arnold therefore approves of ὡς ἐς ἐπιτειχισμόν, comparing i. 50, 5, where ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν is an accepted emendation of the manuscript reading ὡς ἐπίπλουν. ἐπιτειχισμός is no doubt a suitable word: it occurs in i. 122, 1, ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ: and we have ἐπιτείχισις in i. 142, 1. The simple form τειχισμός however seems used of the construction of hostile works in general, as in viii. 34, 2, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὸν

τειχισμόν. Poppo accordingly retains *τειχισμόν* in his text, and is followed by modern editors.

12. **ἅμα**—rightly taken by Jowett as connecting *ξυνεχωρεῖτο* with *προεπανεσείσθη*.

13. **δικαιώσεις**—'claims' or 'demands' professedly grounded on justice; i. 141, 1, *ἥ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις*. **προενεγκόντων**—this sentence has two instances of the genitive absolute with subject understood. **προφέρω**, active, iii. 64, 1: middle, iii. 59, 2: passive, ch. 26, 24.

ib. **ξυνεχωρεῖτο**—Classen notes that this is a solitary instance of the passive of this word used impersonally. The imperfect, as he also points out, denotes the slow and difficult settlement of satisfactory terms. For **ὥστε**, of conditions, cf. iv. 46, 2, *ὥστε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς*: Goodwin § 587, 2.

14. **ἔσχον**—'won'; **ἔχειν** 'keep'. **αὐτῶν**—explained by the preceding *Πλάταιαν*: so in iv. 1, 1, *αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένων* follows *Μεσσήνην κατέλαβον*. Plataea surrendered in 427: the city was destroyed and the land occupied by the Thebans (iii. 52 sq.).

18. **οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...Νίσαιαν**—sc. *ἔχειν ἔφασαν*: see iv. 69. The Athenian claim to Nisaea rested on the same grounds as the Theban claim to Plataea, both places having been compelled by famine to agree to terms.

19. **παρακαλέσαντες**—i. 67, 1, *παρεκάλουν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους*. **πλὴν Βοιωτῶν**—the allies generally regarded with suspicion a private arrangement between Athens and Sparta; while the Boeotians were unwilling to restore Panactum, and the Megarians resented the Athenian occupation of Nisaea. In chapters 30 and 31 we find the particular grounds of dissatisfaction on the part of Corinth and Elis.

22. **τῶν ἄλλων**—added to define further the subject of *ψηφισαμένων*, all the other states but those mentioned. **τούτοις** refers to the states in question. **ὥστε**—cf. vi. 88, 9, *ψηφισάμενοι αὐτοὶ ὥστε ἀμύνειν*.

26. **τάδε**—'as follows'; cf. 76, 20: iv. 117 fin. *γίγνεται ἐκεχειρία...ἥδε*.

CHAPTER XVIII

The provisions of the treaty now concluded should be compared with the year's truce made the year before as recorded in iv. 118. 'The fifty years' peace is based not, like the treaty which preceded it, upon the principle of *uti possidetis*, but on that of compensation. As in the preliminary treaty, the right of access to the Delphic oracle is maintained for all Hellenes; and a clause is inserted guaranteeing the Delphians their independence. Great concessions are made by Sparta to Athens, chiefly in return for the Spartan captives' (Jowett).

The language of the treaty is sometimes awkward in expression, but the meaning is clear throughout. The main clauses have the usual infinitive construction alternating with the imperative.

2. **καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι**—the allies of Sparta alone are mentioned, as in lines 55 and 61. The Athenians seem to have acted independently. On the other hand we have in iv. 119, 1, *ξυνέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις*: cf. ch. 47, 3.

4. **κοινῶν**—the *κοινὰ ἱερά* are spoken of iii. 57, 1. They were 'those of Delphi, Olympia, Nemea, and the Isthmian Neptune, at which the four great national festivals of games were celebrated; that of Jupiter at Dodona, possibly of Abae in Phocis, and any others at which oracles were delivered' (Arnold).

ib. **καὶ ἰέναι**—apparently, as Arnold points out, a provision for the safe conduct of worshippers on their way to the temples, as well as in performing their religious offices when there. The position of the words after *θύειν* is awkward, and they are bracketed as doubtful by Krüger and Classen. Arnold however justly observes that in all formal instruments many words are inserted to prevent the possibility of evasion, which in ordinary language would be deemed superfluous.

5. **θεωρεῖν**—to go, or send envoys to the games: viii. 10, 1, *τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐγίγνετο καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά.* 'The exclusion from the games was considered an especial grievance, as it implied an unworthiness in the persons excluded to appear before the god in whose honour the festival was celebrated: see ch. 50, 7; and Livy ii. 37, 38' (Arnold).

7. **τὸ ἱερόν**—the whole of the sacred precincts; see note on iv. 90, 2. **αὐτονόμους κ.τ.λ.**—'independent as regards laws

and imposts and jurisdiction'. In 449 the Athenians had placed the temple in the hands of the Phocians (i. 112, 5). The genitive **αὐτῶν** depends on the idea of 'control over', which is implied in the preceding adjectives, especially *αὐτονόμους*.

15. **ἐπὶ πημονῇ**—so ch. 47, 6; an old and poetic word, used in the language of treaties by Thucydides. In line 28 we have *ἐπὶ κακῷ*. **μήτε τέχνῃ κ.τ.λ.**—ch. 47, 10 and 57: Dem. *Timocr.* 747 (150), *οὐδὲ δῶρα δέξομαι οὔτε τέχνῃ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ*, from the oath taken by the *ἡλιασταί*.

19. **τι διάφορον**—'any difference or disputed point', as in the passages cited in the next note, and others quoted by Krüger on i. 56, 1, *γενέσθαι διάφορα*. We have the singular in vii. 55, 2, *ἐπενεγκεῖν τι τὸ διάφορον*, where the word probably means a 'cause of dissension'. In vii. 75, 7, it means a reverse.

20. **δικαίῳ**—some few MSS. have **δίκαις**, which we should rather expect, comparing i. 78, 3, *τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκῃ λύεσθαι*: i. 140, 5, *δίκας τῶν διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι*. **δίκαιον** means what is in accordance with justice, a just principle, point, or consideration, or as we say 'a right'; so iii. 54, 1, *παρεχόμενοι ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια*. The sense here required is 'just or legal course of procedure', and it is so taken by Krüger and Classen. I am not without doubt whether the word will bear this meaning, but I have not taken on myself to alter the text.

23. **παρέδοσαν**—the aorist seems to take the restoration as virtually carried into effect. We might expect *ὅπως ἂν παραδῶσι*: cf. *ἐγένοντο*, line 29. It is not clear whether the provisions of this clause extend to Amphipolis as well. **παραδιδόναι** 'to hand over' is a more general word than *ἀποδιδόναι*. The latter seems to be used of the places the actual possession of which was of primary importance.

25. **φερούσας**—'on condition of paying'. **τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρον**—the *φόρος* was the money payment furnished by the allies instead of ships for carrying on the war against the Persian power; see i. 96—99. Its original amount was 460 talents (i. 96, 3). By 431 it averaged 600 talents (ii. 13, 3), 'not probably by an increase of the rate imposed upon the allies, but from the extension of the tribute to new cities and by the commutation of ships for money'. See Jowett's note, for inscriptions etc. relating to the tribute. There seems reason to believe that the assessment had been doubled in 425, though according to the orators this was done by Alcibiades.

28. **ἀποδιδόντων**—'provided they pay'. For the force of the compound cf. ch. 53, 4. **ἐπειδή**—'after the conclusion of treaty'; i. 6, 3, *οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσαντο.*

29. **εἰσὶ δὲ Ἄργιλος κ.τ.λ.**—these are cities friendly to Sparta, and entitled to her protection. The defection of Argilus, Acanthus and Stageirus to Brasidas is related in iv. 88 and 103, 3. Scolus is not mentioned elsewhere by Thucydides. It appears to have been one *τῶν περὶ Ὄλυνθον πόλεων*, and probably, like Olynthus and Spartolus, revolted from Athens at the beginning of the war; see i. 58, 1.

34. **αὐτούς**—singularly awkward. It is commonly taken as the subject of *ποιεῖσθαι*, referring to the Athenians, while **Ἀθηναίοις** = *ἑαυτοῖς*. Krüger proposes to alter *αὐτούς* into *αὐτονόμους*, or omit it; in this case *Ἀθηναίοις* would depend on *ἐξέστω*, which certainly seems the most natural construction. The best way seems to take **βουλομένας ταύτας** as a sort of pendent construction and *αὐτούς* as the object of *ποιεῖσθαι*, denoting the inhabitants of the cities. The combination in line 51 is somewhat similar. See too iii. 79, 3, *ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καίπερ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ὄντας.* It has also been proposed to put the comma before *ἐξέστω*, thus connecting *βουλομένας ταύτας* with the words which precede. Another suggestion is to read *αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους*, 'the Athenians independently may make them their allies': the accusative as in line 27.

ib. **Μηκυβερναίους κ.τ.λ.**—these appear to be cities which had remained faithful to Athens. Sane had held out against Brasidas (iv. 109, 3); Mecyberna was afterwards taken by the Olynthians (ch. 39, 1). Singi is not elsewhere mentioned by Thucydides. It appears from Hdt. (vii. 122) to have been in Sithonia. These places may have shown signs of disaffection to Athens; or this may be a stipulation on the Athenian side to secure them against hostile neighbours (Jowett).

37. **Πάνακτον**—ch. 3, 27. **Κορυφάσιον**—the Spartan name for Pylos (iv. 3, 2). **Κύθηρα**—iv. 53 sq. **Μεθώνην**—iv. 45, 2, note (where the orthography of the word is discussed). **Πτελεόν** has not been mentioned before. There were four or five places so named. Pliny speaks of one in Boeotia, while Strabo places another on the confines of Messenia and Elis. **Ἀταλάντη** was a small island off the coast of Locri occupied by the Athenians in 431 (ii. 32).

41. **ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ**—i.e. in prison, said to be a Laconian

expression, Xen. *Hel.* vii. 4, 36. The captives from the island are especially meant. **ὅσης**—sc. *γῆς* or *χώρας*, as in line 47.

45. **Βρασίδας ἐσέπεμψεν**—see iv. 123, 4.

51. **Σκιωναίων δὲ κ.τ.λ.**—these were revolted cities now in the power of Athens. Scione was closely blockaded (iv, 133, 4), while Torone had been retaken by Cleon (ch. 3). **Σερμυλίων**—mentioned in i. 65, 2 as friendly to Athens; no revolt is recorded. Classen reads *Σερμυλιῶν*, on the ground that the town was called *Σερμυλία* and the people *Σερμυλιῆς*.

ib. **εἴ τινα ἄλλην**—e.g. Mende, which had been recovered in 423 (iv. 129 sq.). The construction is interrupted by the clause with *εἴ τινα*, and **περὶ αὐτῶν**, etc. added by a slight anacoluthon.

57. **τὸν μέγιστον**—so ch. 47, 54: iv. 85, 6, *ὅρκοις καταλαβὼν τοῖς μεγίστοις*. **ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως**—for *ἐξ* Classen adopts the emendation **ἑπτακαίδεκα**, which would be denoted by *ιζ'*, this being the number of signatories to the treaty on each side.

61. **τὸν δὲ ὅρκον ἀνανεοῦσθαι**—'this arose partly from the feeling that all laws and public acts required to be solemnly confirmed from time to time, to prevent them from becoming obsolete, and partly lest the succeeding magistrates might think themselves not bound by the acts of their predecessors, unless they themselves incurred the obligation. So the Veientines are said to have attacked Servius Tullius, on the ground that their treaty with his predecessor Tarquinius Priscus did not extend to him' (Arnold).

64. **ἐν πόλει**—ch. 23, 27: ch. 47, 74. The acropolis is meant, cf. ii. 15 fin. *καλεῖται δὲ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.* There is no article, as the word acquires the force of a proper name; cf. ch. 10, 63.

ib. **ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ**—the temple of Apollo at Amyclae, stated by Polybius to be twenty stadia from Sparta. So in iv. 133, 2, the temple of Hera is said to be *ἐν Ἄργει*, though it was forty stadia from the city.

65. **καὶ ὅτου πέρι**—= *ὁτουοῦν*, or else connected by *καί* with *εἴ τι*, *ἀμνημονοῦσιν* being supplied again.

CHAPTER XIX

ἄρχει—cf. iv. 118, 8, *ἄρχειν δὲ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν*, 'this day to begin it'. In giving the date the year is here put first and forms the subject of *ἄρχει*, *ἔφορος Πλειστόλας* being 'the year of Pleistolas' office'. Then comes the month, and then the day. Comparing the passage cited from Book iv. we find the same variation of two days at Athens and Sparta, while here Elaphebolion corresponds to Artemisius instead of to Gerastius (see note on iv. 119, 1).

CHAPTER XX

2. **ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθύς**—'immediately after'; i. 120, 3, *ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι*. The City or great Dionysia were held about the end of March.

4. **καὶ...παρενεγκουσῶν**—'with a variation of a few days'. *καί* here has probably the corrective force noticed on iv. 35, 3, and is equivalent to 'in fact', 'that is to say'. The time that the war lasted was a few days more than ten years, reckoning from the attack on Plataea (ii. 2 sq.); and somewhat less than ten years, counting from the time when the Spartans first took the field with the intention of invading Attica (Arnold).

For **παρενεγκών**, in the sense of varying, cf. ch. 26, 21. A few instances of the same usage are cited from late Greek writers.

ib. **ᾗ**—dependent on the sense implied in *διελθόντων*, as if *ὕστερον* had been written.

6. **κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους**—i.e. the half-yearly periods by which the writer reckons, as explained below, line 12. See also ch. 26, 20.

7. **καὶ μή**—'and not in accordance with the enumeration of the names of those who, in each several state, either were archons or from holding some office served as a mark for past events', i.e. whose names were used to date by. Thus in Sparta the years were marked by the names of the Ephors, in Argos by the year of office of the priestess of Hera.

The order of this sentence is very awkward, the words **τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων**, which depend on *κατά*, being apparently postponed in order to give the most important words an antithetical prominence. But probably *τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων* ought to be transposed and placed either immediately after *μή*, or at the end of the sentence after *σημαινόντων*.

Corresponding to **ἢ ἀρχόντων** we have **ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς σημαινόντων**. *σημαίνειν ἐς* is 'to furnish a mark as regards'; cf. ii. 8, 3, *ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι σημῆναι = σημεῖον εἶναι*: so *σημαίνει* stands absolutely in ii. 43, 3. Classen however suggests that *ἐς* should here be omitted. **πιστεύσας μᾶλλον** is added for the sake of emphasis, without affecting the construction.

10. **ἀκριβές**—in its strict sense, implying exactness of detail. **οἷς καὶ κ.τ.λ.**—an indirect construction, dependent on *ἀκριβές*. 'For whether an event occurred in the beginning, or the middle, or whatever might be the exact point, of a magistrate's term of office is left uncertain by such a mode of reckoning' (Jowett). Classen however takes the clause *οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές* as parenthetical 'this gives no exactness': and makes *οἷς = ὅτι τούτοις*. **καί** here has a disjunctive force, as noted on ch. 15, 6.

13. **ἐξ ἡμισείας**—'as each (of these periods) has the value of the year in half-measure', i.e. is equivalent to half a year. With *ἡμίσεια* 'half', *μοῖρα* is probably understood: cf. Dem. *Fals. leg.* 431, *ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ χρηστὸν εἶναι*. In such phrases as ch. 31, 9, the gender is determined by the following noun, and so here it might be referred to *δύναμιν*.

14. **δύναμιν**—'value' or 'amount'; ii. 97, 3, *τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις*: vi. 46, 2, *ἀπ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως χρημάτων*. So i. 141, 1, *τὴν αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν*: vi. 40, 3, *λόγους ὡς ἔργα δυναμένους*: cf. *ualeo*.

CHAPTER XXI

1. **ἔλαχον**—the same construction occurs ch. 35, 9: so Hdt. i. 94, *λαχόντας ἐξιέναι*: Dem. etc.

4. **Ἰσχαγόραν**—Ischagoras was one of the envoys sent to Brasidas in 423 (iv. 132). He is named with Menas and Philocharidas among the signatories to the treaty in ch. 19.

9. **ἐπιτηδείας**—'favourable to their interests'; cf. iv. 54, 3, *ἐπιτηδειότερον τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐγένετο.* When used of a person the word often means well-disposed.

11. **βίᾳ ἐκείνων**—i. 43, 3, *βίᾳ ἡμῶν*: i. 68, 3, etc.

14. **οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχαγόραν**—Ischagoras and his colleagues; so ch. 46, 29: viii. 63, 3, *οἱ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον πρέσβεις.*

16. **κατειλημμένας**—sc. *τὰς σπονδάς*, line 7, corresponding in sense to *ἡ ὁμολογία.* There is some awkwardness in this construction, besides which there seems no instance of *κατειλημμένος* being used to mean 'closed, finally concluded', which would be the force here required. There is therefore much in favour of reading *κατειλημμένους*, finding the Spartans 'bound by' the arrangements. This agrees with i. 9, 1, *ὅρκοις κατειλημμένους ἄγων*, and iv. 85, 6, *καταλαβὼν τὰ τέλη.*

18. **μάλιστα μέν...εἰ δὲ μή**—so i. 32, 1: i. 35 fin. etc. The force of *καί*, 'as well' as performing the other conditions, is to be noted.

CHAPTER XXII

2. **αὐτοῦ**—the reading of most manuscripts; Krüger quotes Xen. *Hel.* vii. 4, 36, *ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ αὐτοῦ.* There is also some authority for **αὐτοί**, 'of themselves', i.e. for purposes of their own, without a summons from Sparta; cf. ch. 30, 15. Classen suggests that *αὐτοῦ* **ἔτι** *ἔτυχον* is the true reading.

5. **τῇ αὐτῇ προφάσει**—for the dative cf. ch. 14, 9. The disapproval of the allies is mentioned towards the end of ch. 17.

6. **οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξασθαι**—'refused to accept the treaty'. On this aorist construction Poppo writes 'mutatione non opus videtur', and it is retained by Krüger and Classen.

9. **νομίζοντες κ. τ. λ.**—this sentence is awkward and probably corrupt. The alterations, chiefly omissions, which have been suggested are far too numerous to discuss here. They are given fully in Mr Fowler's edition. Taking the words as they stand in the text the key is to be sought in the connexion of the two main dependent clauses, *ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι τούς* **τε** *Ἀργείους*...**καὶ** *τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον.* By an alliance

with Athens the Spartans hoped to effect two objects, to secure themselves against Argos, and to ensure the tranquillity of Peloponnesus. In construction, the clause with *νομίζοντες* is left incomplete, the sense which should have followed, 'thinking that the Argives would be least likely to prove dangerous' or the like, being resumed with the words *νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.*

10. **ἐπειδή**—this gives the reason for apprehending the hostility of Argos. **ἐπισπένδεσθαι**—'to renew a truce': *ἐπί* implying sequence, as in *ἐπιρώννυμι, γίγνομαι*, etc.; see note on iv. 36, 2: cf. ch. 14, 25, *ἄλλας οὐκ ἤθελον σπένδεσθαι.*

12. **νομίσαντες**—taking *νομίσαντες* of the Spartans and *αὐτούς* of the Argives, these words are a resumption of the clause with which the sentence began, 'having come to the conclusion, I say', etc.; and the change of time from present to aorist introduces a slight variation of idea. Classen, who omits *νομίζοντες...σφίσι*, takes *αὐτούς* to mean 'by themselves', further explained by *ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων.* Some editors make this clause part of the accessory sentence with *ἐπειδή*, and thus refer *νομίσαντες* to the Argives and *αὐτούς* to the Spartans. Grammatically this is free from objection, though the sequence of *νομίζοντες, νομίσαντες*, in agreement with different subjects is harsh and awkward. But the sense is fatal to such a construction, for it is absurd to talk of the Argives 'not thinking the Spartans formidable without the Athenians'. They were always more than a match for Argos, and an alliance between them and Athens was a condition seldom present.

14. **πρὸς γὰρ ἄν**—i.e. but for this treaty between Athens and Sparta; cf. iv. 54, 3, *ἀνέστησαν γὰρ ἂν Κυθηρίους.* Classen believes **Ἀθηναίους** to be a copyist's error, and reads *Ἀργείους*, comparing the concluding words of ch. 14.

CHAPTER XXIII

Treaty between Athens and Sparta. 'The new agreement was a defensive alliance made between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and was confined to one or two points. The clause which is repeated here from the previous treaty, empowering the two contracting parties, of themselves and with-

out the consent of their allies, to add or take away from either treaty, naturally created a panic among the Peloponnesians (ch. 29, 15), whose independence was threatened by it. The allies or tributaries of Athens were not in a position to make a similar complaint, for most of them had suffered already what the Lacedaemonian allies dreaded, nor had those of them who were independent anything to fear from Lacedaemon. The provision respecting the revolt of the slaves applies to Lacedaemon only. This indicates that the Athenians were in no such danger from their slaves, as the Lacedaemonians were from the Helots. The older treaty remained in force, and, in accordance with its provisions, the prisoners of Sphacteria now restored' (Jowett).

1. **κατὰ τάδε**—these words are commonly printed, not as part of the treaty, but as the end of the foregoing chapter. Classen follows Krüger in placing them as they stand in the text; see ch. 47, 11: ch. 77, 1: ch. 79, 1.

ib. **Λακεδαιμόνιοι**—Classen, following Portus, adds *καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι*. Hofmann suggests that we may have the text of the treaty as signed by the Lacedaemonians. **ἢν δέ τινες**—*δέ* ought possibly to be omitted, as in ch. 47, 13, and other passages.

4. **ὠφελεῖν**—'help': in the treaty given in ch. 47 we have the more ordinary *βοηθεῖν*.

5. **τρόπῳ...δυνατόν**—the same form occurs twice in ch. 47. Krüger compares Plat. *Rep.* 458 E, *γάμους ποιήσομεν ἱεροὺς εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα*.

9. **καταλύειν δὲ ἅμα**—i.e. neither city is to make a separate peace. *καταλύειν* usually takes a case, as *τὸν πόλεμον* in ch. 47, 20; *καταλύεσθαι*, as in iv. 18, 4, being used for 'making terms', the middle implying joint or reciprocal action. In viii. 58, fin. we have *ἢν δὲ καταλύειν βούλονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐν ὁμοίῳ καταλύεσθαι*.

ib. **ἄμφω τώ**—the regular form of the feminine dual; see note on iv. 4, 2, *τὼ χεῖρε*.

10. **εἶναι**—Krüger quotes Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4, 8, *πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως*. Classen notes that such phraseology is archaic, as the language of treaties and public documents often is.

18. **ἡ δουλεία**—'the slave-class'. Lid. and Scott give instances of the collective use of the word from Plato and Aristotle: cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 17, *servitii decem milia offerebant.* **ἐπανιστῆται**—i. 115, 4, *τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν*.

21. **ἑκατέρων**—dependent on *οἱ περ.* For **ἀνανεοῦσθαι**, and the remaining terms of the treaty, see notes on ch. 18, 61 seq. Here **παρ' Ἀθηνᾷ** is added, meaning near her statue (ii. 13, 4). For the form *Ἀθηνᾶ* cf. ch. 10, 8.

CHAPTER XXIV

1. **ὤμνυον**—the names are identical with those in ch. 19, with one or two variations in their order. **τοὺς ἐκ**—cf. ch. 15, 3.

14. **ταῦτα τὰ δέκα ἔτη**—the preceding ten years, implied in *ἑνδεκάτου*. In construction these words are accusative of extent with *γενόμενος*, while they form a predicate to *ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος*. Classen seems wrong in taking the participle here as part of the epithet, as in ch. 5, 5; ch. 34, 6. The duration of the war is an accessory idea, which is usually expressed in Greek by an appositional predicate; see note on ch. 16, 24; and iv. 48, 5, *ἡ στάσις πολλὴ γενομένη*.

CHAPTER XXV

7. **διεκίνουν**—'tried to upset', only here in Attic prose; Ar. *Nub.* 477, *διακινεῖ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ*, 'turn inside out, examine thoroughly'.

8. **ἄλλη ταραχή**—does *ἄλλη*, in the sense of 'fresh disturbance', refer to previous difficulties, such as are mentioned in ch. 22; or does it mean 'besides' the intrigues of the Corinthians and their abettors? **τῶν ξυμμάχων πρός**—'between the allies and Lacedaemon'; a variation from the more common construction with the dative, e.g. i. 17, 1, *πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἑκάστοις*: cf. note on iv. 80, 2. **Λακεδαίμονα** = *Λακεδαιμονίους* is unusual, to the best of my knowledge: so ch. 28, 14.

11. **ἔστιν ἐν οἷς**—so *ἔστιν ᾗ*, *ἔστι παρ' οἷς* (masc.) etc., but always *εἰσὶν οἵ*. **ἐκ τῶν ξυγκειμένων**—so iii. 70, 3, *κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα*: iv. 23, 1, *καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο*. *ξύγκειμαι* thus used is the perfect passive of *ξυντίθεμαι*. **ἃ εἴρητο**—the several items of the *ξυγκείμενα*.

13. **ἐπὶ ἓξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας**—*μέν* is answered primarily by *ἔπειτα μέντοι*, as *πρῶτον μέν* is commonly answered by *ἔπειτα* with or without *δέ*. The clause with *ἔξωθεν δέ* is also a kind of secondary apodosis to the clause with *μέν*.

ib. **μή**—following the negative idea of *ἀπέσχοντο*: Goodwin § 807 (c). Classen collects instances from Thucydides in his note on iii. 32, 2, *ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἶχον μή ποτε... παραβαλεῖν.*

14. **μετ' ἀνακωχῆς**—*μετά* is here used of attendant conditions, as in the common phrase *μετὰ κινδύνων*, for which see Krüger on i. 18, 7. *μετ' ἐλπίδων*, ch. 103 fin., is somewhat similar. For the form of **ἀνακωχή** see note on iv. 117, 2, and Poppo on i. 40, 4.

17. **ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέστησαν**—so ch. 84, 17: i. 23, fin. *ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν*, of the first outbreak of war.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. **γέγραφε**—compare the opening words of the first Book, *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε κ.τ.λ.*, where the writer gives the plan and purpose of his history. Similarly in i. 97, 2, he says *ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ...διὰ τόδε.* Here he is regarding the work as complete, and therefore uses the perfect; so i. 22, fin. *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ...ξύγκειται*: cf. ch. 22, *ὥσπερ γέγραπται. ξυγγράφω, conscribo*, is the special word for the compilation of history, and from his frequent use of the word Thucydides in particular was styled *ὁ ξυγγραφεύς.* **κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας**—see ch. 20.

6. **κατέλαβον**—'occupied'; iv. 1, 1, note. Two manuscripts have *κατέβαλον*, which agrees with Plut. *Lys.* 14, *καββαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη*: Xen. *Hel.* ii. 2, 20, *τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντες.* Both words are historically correct, for the Lacedaemonians sailed into the Peiraeus, and continued to occupy Athens till the conditions of the peace, including the dismantling of the walls, were carried out.

8. **καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου**—'and if any one shall think himself entitled to consider the intervening convention as anything but war, he will make a claim which is not justified by facts'. **διὰ μέσου**—iv. 20, 1, *διὰ μέσου γενόμενον*: viii. 75, 1, *ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου κωλυθέντες*: so Hdt. and Xen. **ἀξιῶ** and **δικαιῶ**, in

the sense of thinking fit and right, differ but slightly in meaning: *οὐκ ἀξιῶ* is constructed with the negative like *οὔ φημι*, as noted on iv. 40, 1.

10. **τοῖς τε**—apparently answered by **ἔξω τε τούτων**: unless indeed the latter is merely a continuation of the subordinate relative construction. I rather suspect that this is so, as all the things mentioned seem explanations of *τοῖς ἔργοις*, and the relative clause is otherwise very curt. In this case the sentence is incomplete, unless we take the initial *τε γάρ* as equivalent to *nam etiam*, as Poppo suggests. (See Jowett on i. 9, 3 for *τε* in the sense of 'too'.) **τοῖς ἔργοις**—what was actually done, facts, including hostile movements.

ib. **διῄρηται**—most editors take this to mean 'interrupted' lit. 'divided', which is no doubt the common use of the word. The perfect tense seems against this view; we should expect the imperfect or pluperfect. I therefore incline to the rendering 'how it is characterised', of which Poppo approves, taking *διαιρεῖν* in the sense of 'defining'. This sense is found in Herodotus ii. 6: vii. 16, 47, 50, and 103; and is common in Plato.

13. **ἔξω**—'besides, not counting'; a usage nearly confined to Herodotus and Thucydides (Krüger on i. 9, 3). **Μαντινικόν**—the difficulty with Mantinea, which occupies many chapters in this Book, is first mentioned in ch. 33; the quarrel with Epidaurus in ch. 53.

15. **ἐγένοντο**—here the plural verb is naturally used, as *ἁμαρτήματα* occurred on either side and on more than one occasion. But besides instances which can be thus explained Thucydides not uncommonly uses the plural with a neuter nominative of things, e.g. ch. 75, 9, *Κάρνεια ἐτύγχανον ὄντα*: vi. 62, 4, *ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα.* In i. 126, 3, *ἐπῆλθον(εν) Ὀλύμπια*: ii. 8, 2, *πολλὰ λόγια ἐλέγοντο(ετο)*: i. 58, 1, *τὰ τέλη ὑπέσχοντο(ετο)*, the best manuscripts, according to Krüger, are in favour of the plural. In viii. 10, 1, we have *τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐγίγνετο...ἐπηγγέλθησαν γάρ*: where the subject of *ἐπηγγέλθησαν* is probably *τὰ Ἴσθμια*, though many follow the scholiast in supplying *αἱ σπονδαί.*

16. **πολέμιοι**—as hostile to Athens as ever. Thus they opposed the restoration of Amphipolis, and refused to accept the treaty; see ch. 35.

ib. **ἐκεχειρίαν δεχήμερον**—explained as a truce which had

to be renewed every ten days, or which could be terminated on ten days notice. The word occurs in ch. 32, 19 and 32; also vi. 7, 4; vi. 10, 3.

20. **κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους**—ch. 20, 6, *σκοπείτω δέ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους*. **καὶ ἡμέρας**—'that is to say with a variation of but a few days'; see note on ch. 20, 4. The time is calculated from the beginning of April 431, when the Thebans attacked Plataea (ii. 2), to the middle of April 404, when Lysander sailed into the Peiraeus.

21. **καὶ τοῖς ἀπό**—'and (he will find) that they who on the strength of oracles were positive on any matter found, in this, one solitary instance of the event decidedly corresponding to the prediction' (Arnold). **ἀπό** = 'starting from', i.e. grounding their belief on; cf. iv. 18, 2, *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπαρχόντων*: cf. ch. 17, 6. For **ἰσχυρισαμένοις** with neut. acc. cf. iii. 44, 5, *τοῦτο ὁ Κλέων ἰσχυρίζεται*: vii. 49, 1, *τοσαῦτα λέγων ἰσχυρίζετο*: also with *ὅτι*, vi. 55, 1 etc.: with *ὡς* and a participle iv. 68, fin.

22. **ἐχυρῶς**—*ἐχυρός* 'secure' is used somewhat in the sense of *πιστός*: iii. 83, 1, *λόγος ἐχυρός*: vii. 41, 4, *τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐχυράν εἶχον*. The positive adverb is not found elsewhere in Thucydides: in viii. 24, 4, we have *ἐκοσμοῦντο ἐχυρώτερον*. **ξυμβάν**—Hdt. ii. 3, *εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσιν ἐν Μέμφι*: Ar. *Eq.* 220, *χρησμοί τε συμβαίνουσι καὶ τὸ Πυθικόν*.

26. **αἰσθανόμενος**—of intelligent perception, as in i. 71, 4, *πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων*. **τῇ ἡλικίᾳ**—'by reason of'; for dat. cf. ch. 13, 6. Thucydides does not speak of himself except as bearing on his history. At the beginning of his book he tells us that he had compiled materials from the first outbreak of the war (*ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου*); here he asserts his claims as being capable of seeing and appreciating facts throughout its course. We cannot be certain about his age; but the statement is commonly accepted that he was about forty when the war began. The biography of Marcellinus only says that Thucydides died at over fifty. The question is fully discussed in Classen's introduction. **τι** is emphatic, as in line 32.

27. **ἀκριβές**—of exact detail, as in ch. 20, 10: 68, 5. For the indicative **εἴσομαι** after a secondary tense see Goodwin, § 339: cf. iii. 4 fin., *ἔπρασσον ὅπως βοήθεια ἥξει*.

28. **φεύγειν**—'to be in exile from my country', whether by banishment or voluntarily (ch. 72, 4). **μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν**

στρατηγίαν—for *ἐς* cf. ch. 7, *ἐς την Πύλον εὐτυχήσας*. The words simply denote the attempt to relieve the place, and do not prove, as Grote supposes, that Thucydides was sent expressly to Amphipolis. See *Appendix* to iv. 104.

30. **παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι**—'at what was done on both sides'. **οὐχ ἧσσον** = *μᾶλλον*. We do not know where Thucydides passed the time of his exile. Marcellinus says that he went first to Aegina, and then to Thrace, where, as we know (iv. 105), he had property and powerful connexions. He probably visited various places, including even Sicily, of which he shows the knowledge of an eyewitness. Most likely he returned to Athens in 403, when the amnesty was proclaimed under Thrasybulus. One account says he was assassinated in Athens, another that he died in Thasos.

32. **αἰσθέσθαι**—the present form *αἴσθεσθαι* is retained by Poppo and others here, as suiting the sense better; and Classen has *αἴσθεσθαι*, vii. 75, 2, and *προαίσθεσθαι*, ii. 93, 4; iii. 83, 4: in each case with good manuscript authority. *αἴσθομαι* is a form used by late ecclesiastical writers, and the introduction of its infinitive into classical authors may be merely a copyist's error.

ib. **τήν**—one article belongs to two nouns, which are closely connected in idea; so ch. 5, 1: i. 120, 2, *τὴν κατακομιδὴν καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν*. **τὰ ἔπειτα** may be the direct subject of *ὡς ἐπολεμήθη*, which is in that case personally constructed; Poppo however (iii. 6, 2) considers such constructions, e.g. iv. 23, 2, *τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἐπολεμεῖτο*, as impersonal with determinant accusative: cf. ch. 52, 6.

33. **ξύγχυσιν**—i. 146, *σπονδῶν ξύγχυσις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν*: cf. ch. 39, 18, *ξυγχέαι τὰς σπονδάς*.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. **ἐπειδὴ γάρ**—*γάρ* introduces the account which has been already promised; so ii. 2, 1, in a passage like this: compare its use after such prefaces as *τεκμήριον δέ, δῆλον δέ* etc.

2. **καὶ ὕστερον** — quasi-parenthetical, 'followed by the alliance', for the dissentient allies were dismissed from Sparta before the alliance was formally arranged, ch. 22, 8. Classen

follows Cobet in altering **αἱ ξυμμαχίαι** into the singular, as there was only one alliance, that between Athens and Sparta, and a copyist's error might easily arise from the neighbouring plurals. In the beginning of ch. 48, however, *ξυμμαχίαι* occurs again. It is true more than two states are there concerned, but the singular had been used in reference to the same states at the end of ch. 46. The plural comes again in ch. 79, 6. Possibly the singular denotes an alliance in a general sense, while the plural refers to its several conditions, as *ἔγκλημα* in the orators is the plaintiff's 'declaration', the several items of which are *ἐγκλήματα*.

ib. **καὶ αἱ**—'then also'; co-ordinate note of time; i. 50, 5, *ἤδη δὲ ὀψὲ...καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι*: Soph. *Phil.* 354, *ἦν δ' ἦμαρ δεύτερον κἀγὼ κατηγόμην*: Mk. xv. 25, *ἦν ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν*. It has been suggested to remove the *καί* before *οἱ μέν* in the next sentence, making the construction with *ἐπειδή* continue to *Λακεδαίμονος*.

4. **ἐς αὐτά**—i.e. to discuss these arrangements: *αὐτό* and *αὐτά* are perpetually used by Thucydides in this general sense: so i. 1, 2, *τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν*. **ἀνεχώρουν**—'inceptive' imperfect, because though they all left Sparta they did not all return home at once.

7. **πρῶτον**—with *ἐς Ἄργος τραπόμενοι*: cf. ch. 2, 6.

11. **ὁρᾶν ὅπως**—with indic. future: iii. 46, 4, *ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἕξομεν*: so vi. 33, 3, *ὁρᾶτε ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἀμυνεῖσθε*: iv. 128, fin. *ἔπρασσεν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ξυμβήσεται*: i. 65, 2, *ἔπρασσεν ὅπῃ ὠφελία τις γενήσεται*. See Goodwin, § 339.

13. **τὴν βουλομένην**—see note on iv. 26, 5, *τὸν βουλόμενον*. *ὁ βουλόμενος* is 'he who chooses': cf. Ar. *Plut.* 906 sq. where the *συκοφάντης* is asked his profession, and replies, 'I choose':

Δικ. *πῶς οὖν διέζῃς ἢ πόθεν μηδὲν ποιῶν;*
Συκ. *τῶν τῆς πόλεώς εἰμ' ἐπιμελητὴς πραγμάτων*
καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πάντων.
Δικ. *σύ; τί παθών;*
Συκ. *βούλομαι.*

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

Συκ. *κατηγορεῖ δὲ τίς;*
Δικ. *ὁ βουλόμενος.*
Συκ. *οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνός εἰμ' ἐγώ,*
ὡς εἰς ἔμ' ἥκει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα.

14. **δίκας ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας δίδωσι**—see the beginning of ch. 79: i. 28, 1, *δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι* = they were ready to submit to judgment or arbitration: i. 140, 3, *δίκας τῶν διαφορῶν ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι.*

16. **ὥστε**—of conditions; ch. 17, 13 etc. **ἐπιμαχεῖν** denotes a *defensive* alliance, as explained in ch. 48, 9. **ἀποδεῖξαι**—'to name', or appoint: Hdt. i. 125, *στρατηγὸν ἀποδεικνύναι.*

17. **ἀρχήν**—accusative of respect with *αὐτοκράτορας*, 'of independent authority'. Classen takes it in the adverbial sense 'to begin with', i.e. from the first; for which Thucydides elsewhere uses *τὴν ἀρχήν*, ii. 74, 3: iv. 98, 1: vi. 4, 5: vi. 56, 1. *ἀρχήν* is no doubt common in Herodotus, and is found in other writers; but it seems unlikely that Thucydides would depart from his usual form in one instance only when his meaning would be rendered doubtful. It is also to be noticed that in the great majority of cases both *ἀρχήν* and *τὴν ἀρχήν* are used in negative sentences.

18. **τοῦ μή**—i. 4, *τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ*: Goodwin § 798. **καταφανεῖς**—especially to the Lacedaemonians. We may compare the account in iv. 22, where the Spartans refused to confer with the Athenian assembly, but were willing to meet select commissioners.

19. **τοὺς μὴ πείσαντας**—**μή** gives a hypothetical force, 'in case of failure', lit. 'those who might have failed'. The phrase here seemingly applies to *all* those who were conducting the intrigue. Krüger collects similar usages of the article on iii. 81, 3, *τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσι*, where the sense is equivalent to *αὐτοῖς*: cf. iv. 33, 2, *καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἠμύνοντο*: iv. 46, 3, *δεδιότες μὴ τοὺς ἐλθόντας οὐκ ἀποκτείνωσι*: see also ch. 5, 9.

CHAPTER XXVIII

2. **οἱ δέ**—for the order, and the position of **ἐπειδή**, cf. iii. 5, 1, *οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πρέσβεις ὡς οὐδὲν ἦλθον πράξαντες*, following a clause with *καὶ οἱ μέν*. The nominative is put first to mark the change of subject.

3. **ἀνήνεγκαν**—'referred', of laying a matter before an

assembly; Hdt. i. 157, *ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι* (an unusual form): id. iii. 71, *ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας*. **τὰς ἀρχάς**—ch. 47, 59: see note on *τὰ τέλη*, iv. 14, 1.

6. **ποιεῖσθαι**—'should make', dependent, like *ἐξεῖναι*, on the sense continued from *ἐψηφίσαντο*: so ch. 63, 17. For this use of the relative and infinitive, which is found especially in quoting the provisions of a law, see Goodwin, § 756. **μηδετέροις** is governed by *σπείσασθαι*. For **ἄνευ**, 'without the consent of', cf. ch. 60, 28: iv. 78, 3, *ἄνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ*.

10. **τόν τε**—*τε* and *καί* connect the two main ideas of the Argives, the prospect of war and the hope of supremacy; cf. ch. 11, 11. **ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ**—ch. 14, 25. There and in ch. 22 we find that it was the Argives who refused to renew the truce.

12. **ἐλπίσαντες**—'conceiving the hope'; note the force of the aorist: so in the next sentence **κακῶς ἤκουσε** *κ.τ.λ.* 'came into contempt', etc. (Krüger suggests *ἤκουε*.)

13. **ἥ τε...οἵ τε**—two main reasons co-ordinately stated; so i. 8, 3, *ἐφιέμενοι τῶν κερδῶν οἵ τε ἥσσους...οἵ τε δυνατώτεροι*. **μάλιστα δή**—*δή* emphasizes the superlative; i. 1, 2, *κίνησις αὕτη μεγίστη δή*, 'greatest of all', not simply 'very great'. **διὰ τὰς ξυμφοράς**—especially the surrender of Pylos, which is particularly called *ξυμφορά*, iv. 20, 2: iv. 22, 3, etc.: see ch. 75, 12.

16. **τοῖς πᾶσιν**—'in all points'; vii. 50, 3, *τοῖς πᾶσι χαλεπώτερον ἴσχοντα*. **ξυναράμενοι**—'having taken part *in*'; iv. 10, 1: the genitive is partitive. The accusative construction is also found ii. 71, 2, *ξυνάρασθαι κίνδυνον*, 'to join in undertaking.' **ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι**—'having reaped profit thereout', i.e. from their friendly neutrality, or from the war itself, which might bring gain to a neutral state. The scholiast takes it of the enjoyment of their own crops and revenues. Thucydides does not use the word elsewhere; *καρποῦσθαι* occurs twice.

19. **προσεδέχοντο**—'were ready to receive', or 'were to receive' according to the arrangements made.

CHAPTER XXIX

4. **μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας**—see ch. 33. **κατέστραπτο ὑπήκοον**—i. 8, 3, *προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις.* **ἄρχειν**—either to rule the district in question, or absolutely to hold an empire, or act like a sovereign state. The infinitive with *περιόψεσθε* occurs i. 35, 3, and in several other passages there collected by Krüger. It differs from the participial construction (e.g. iv. 11, 3) inasmuch as that implies a present or accomplished fact, which is to be stopped or avenged, while the infinitive suggests a supposed possibility which is to be guarded against.

Grote points out (ch. 55) that the conquest effected by Mantinea during the war was a violation of the principle of the Peloponnesian confederacy; and opposed to the general policy of Sparta, which was in favour of maintaining the independence of the little states, and thus ensuring her own influence as general leader. See note on ch. 31, 15.

7. **ἐπειδὴ καί**—besides other considerations, they had *also* leisure to interfere.

10. **ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί**—sc. *δημοκρατοῦνται*, so ch. 44, 10. This is the more common construction in Greek: in Latin the rule is to follow the antecedent case. Such instances as the following are quite exceptional: Liv. xlii. 37, eodem se loco esse *quo Messenii* atque *Elei:* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 7, cuncta feminae obediebant, non per lasciviam, *ut Messalina*, rebus Romanis illudenti: *ib.* xiii. 19, Plautum, pari *ac Nero* gradu a divo Augusto, destinavisse.

12. **ἐς θροῦν καθίστατο**—'took to talking'; ch. 30, 1: cf. ch. 7, 8. The imperfect denotes the beginning and continuance of the *θροῦς*, which in the first words of the next chapter is described as prevalent (*καθεστῶτα*, 'on foot, established').

13. **νομίσαντες...καὶ ἔχοντες**—note variation of tense, as in ch. 28, 10. For **πλέον εἰδώς** cf. vii. 49 fin. *ὑπόνοια μή τι καὶ πλέον εἰδὼς ὁ Νικίας ἰσχυρίζηται.* The participle as usual conveys the most important idea; ch. 1, 5: cf. iv. 27, 2, *ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι*, 'they thought they must have some strong point, as' etc.

15. **δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες**—ii. 60, 3, *ἐμὲ δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε*: also

ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχειν: ii. 8, 3, *ὀργῇ εἶχον*. **ἀμφοῖν τοῖν**—see note on ch. 23, 9.

18. **τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα**—the wording of this clause. *γράμμα* in the singular is used of a short piece of writing, e.g. of the Delphian inscription *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*. The strong compound **διαθορυβεῖν** is only found here in classical Greek.

21. **δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι**—the infinitive depends on the sense of saying or thinking supplied from *ἐς ὑποψίαν καθίστη*. The words **πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις** are as it were in inverted commas and are governed by *δοκῇ*, not *γεγράφθαι*. The sense is, 'the wording of the (provision for) alteration ought to have been, (*ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ*) *πᾶσι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις*, and not *ἀμφοῖν τοῖν πολέοιν*'.

23. **ὥρμηντο**—see note on ch. 1. 11. **πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους** is probably to be taken with *ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι*, so also ii. 59, 1, *πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμηντο ξυγχωρεῖν*. The infinitive might however be explanatory, as in i. 50, 1, *πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν*. For the ambiguity of position, which is a Thucydidean mannerism, see note on iv. 40, 2.

CHAPTER XXX

1. **αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θροῦν**—cf. ch. 29, 12. **διδασκάλους γενομένους**—so viii. 45, 2, *διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος*. Similar instances are collected by Classen on iii. 2, 3, *μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*: see also Poppo on i. 132, 5, *μηνυτὴς γίγνεται*.

6. **προκαταλαβεῖν**—i. 57, 4, *προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀποστάσεις*: also with accusative of the person and absolutely. **ᾐτιῶντο**—'expostulated with them on', with accusative.

7. **τήν τε**—*τε* and *καί* couple the two main grounds of complaint, the general stirring up of disaffection and the contemplated alliance with Argos in particular. The second division of the sentence with *καί* is modified in construction after the conditional clause *εἰ Ἀργείοις*..., and has a fresh verb **ἔφασαν** with *παραβήσεσθαί* **τε**...**καὶ** *ἀδικεῖν* dependent. Krüger and others take *καὶ εἰ Ἀργείοις* as corresponding to *τὴν ἐσήγησιν* and dependent on *ᾐτιῶντο* 'if they should', i.e. they deprecated the contingency of their secession to Argos. Such a use of *εἰ* is justifiable by examples, e.g. iv. 85, 4, *δυσχερὲς ποιούμενοι εἰ*

μὴ ἐδέξασθε. But to begin afresh with *παραβήσεσθαί τε ἔφασαν*, 'and they said they would be breaking their oaths', seems to weaken the sentence; which appears rather to be one connected paragraph.

ib. **ἐσήγησιν**—iv. 76, 2, *Πτοιοδώρου ἐσηγουμένου*: so vi. 99, 2 etc.: viii. 48, 6 *ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ*. *ἐσήγησις* appears to be found here only in classical Greek. It is quoted from Dio Cas. in the sense of *rogatio*.

9. **καὶ ἤδη ἀδικεῖν**—'and were already in the wrong'. **εἰρημένον**—so ch. 39, 15 etc. See Goodwin § 851. The Lacedaemonians appeal to the fundamental principles of the Peloponnesian confederacy, as implied below in the 'oaths of the allies' and the 'ancient oaths'.

10. **τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδάς**—'the truce with Athens'. The 'adnominal' genitives in this chapter are worthy of note; line 12, **θεῶν κώλυμα**: line 22, **ξυμμάχων ὅρκους**, the oaths taken by, or sworn to the allies: line 24, **θεῶν πίστεις**, pledges ratified by the names of gods. **τὸ πλῆθος**—'the majority'; i. 125, *τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν*.

13. **ὅσοι οὐδ' αὐτοί**—'who, like the Corinthians, had not accepted the truce'. *οὐδέ* = 'also not', its most usual meaning. The dissatisfied allies are named ch. 17, 21.

17. **σφίσιν**—'for them', i.e. to restore to them; ch. 32, 23. Sollium (*Κορινθίων πόλισμα*) had been taken by the Athenians in the first year of the war (ii. 30, 1); while Anactorium, a town at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, was betrayed to them in 425 (iv. 49).

18. **ἐλασσοῦσθαι**—'to be at a disadvantage', have their claims and rights disregarded; ch. 34, 13: i. 77, 3, *εἴ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν*: iv. 58, 2, *ὡς ἕκαστοί τι ἐλασσοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζον*.

19. **πρόσχημα ποιούμενοι**—with infinitive construction, as in i. 96, 1, *πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ἀμύνασθαι*. **μετὰ Ποτιδαιατῶν**—in 432; see i. 58, 1. **ἄλλους ὕστερον**—sc. *κοινῇ*, with the rest of the allies.

23. **ἐσιόντες**—so ch. 35, 15: ch. 40, 10: noted by Krüger as an exclusively Thucydidean usage. **θεῶν πίστεις**—Krüger quotes *ὅρκοι θεῶν* from Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5, 7 etc. **εἰρῆσθαι δ' ὅτι**—'the wording was', citing part of the whole clause given in line 10.

33. **ἰέναι ἐς**—=ἐσιέναι, line 23: so iii. 91, 2, *ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν ἰέναι.* **τὸν ὕστερον ξύλλογον**—i.e. the next meeting to be held at Corinth.

CHAPTER XXXI

2. **ἐποιήσαντο**—following the sense of *πρεσβεία*; some manuscripts have the needless correction *ἐποιήσατο.* **καθάπερ προείρητο**—by conference with the twelve Argive commissioners, ch. 28, 5, so infr. line 27.

6. **Λεπρέου**—this is the first mention of Lepreum in Thucydides, and it is not named again after ch. 62. It was in Triphylia, between Messenia and Elis, not far from the sea. **ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ**—'on condition of (receiving)'; ch. 5, 12.

9. **καὶ καταλυσάντων**—so Classen for the manuscript reading *καὶ λυσάντων*, *λύειν πόλεμον* not being a phrase in use. Krüger, with two manuscripts, reads *καταλυσάντων* without *καί*, and gives it a hypothetical force, 'in case they ended the war', but Classen's reading is more consistent with Thucydidean usage.

10. **Ἠλεῖοι**—the subject of the genitive absolute now becomes the subject of the main verb; cf. iii. 13, 7, *βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως, πόλιν προσλήψεσθε*: so iii. 112, 6: iv. 108, 1, *τῆς δὲ γεφύρας μὴ κρατούντων...οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι προσελθεῖν.* A more dubious passage in i. 10, 3, is probably to be taken in the same way, *ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως......φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεέστερα* (sc. *ἡ πόλις*). Goodwin (§ 850) says that the intention of such irregularity is to make the participial clause more prominent, and to express its relation (time, cause etc.) with greater emphasis. This principle applies to **παυσαμένων**, line 13.

ib. **νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς**—'the sovereignty of half the territory of Lepreum became vested in the Eleans, who, without disturbing the actual occupiers of the soil, imposed upon them a talent as the rent, or vectigal, to be paid to the treasury of Jupiter at Olympia; of which the Eleans had the management. Compare the conduct of the Athenians to the conquered Lesbians (iii. 50, 3); where the vectigal was not paid to the Athenian state, but to the individual Athenians to whom the state had given the ownership or sovereignty of the land. *ἀποφέρειν* and *ἀποφορά* are words used peculiarly to

express the payment of rent, whether from a tenant to his landlord, or from a subject to his sovereign, or from a conquered people to their conquerors' (Arnold).

11. **ἔταξαν**—i. 19, 1, *χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν*. The middle is used of those who agree to the payment on their own part, e.g. i. 101, 4, *χρήματα ταξάμενοι φέρειν*. **ἐπηνάγκαζον**—only here in Thucydides: Hdt. viii. 130, *οὐδὲ ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδείς*. The compound, like the more common *προσαναγκάζω*, implies compulsion to a course of action.

15. **δίκης ἐπιτραπείσης**—cf. vii. 18, 3, *ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἤθελον ἐπιτρέπειν*. **ἴσον**—'their just due'; iv. 59 fin. *ἴσον ἔχοντι*. **ἀνέντες**—'throwing up': *παυσάμενοι τοῦ ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν δίκην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις* (schol.). 'It presently appeared that Sparta was more disposed to carry out her general system of favouring the autonomy of the lesser states, than to enforce the positive agreement of the confederacy. Accordingly the Eleians, accusing her of unjust bias, renounced her authority as arbitrator' (Grote).

22. **δέξασθαι**—of receiving disaffected allies. i. 40, 4, *τοὺς ἑτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι* (other instances in the same chapter): so iv. 75, 1, *τοὺς ἐξιόντας ἐδέχοντο*, which is sometimes wrongly taken of 'withstanding assailants'.

23. **τὴν ξυνθήκην**—this covenant is not mentioned elsewhere; but it would seem to be a bond entered into at the beginning of the war by the several states of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Grote (ch. 55) has an interesting note. He takes the view that subordinate states had been exempt while the war lasted from tribute to the imperial cities, in virtue of their military service for the general cause. 'But the confederacy at the same time gave its guarantee that the imperial state should re-enter upon these suspended rights, so soon as the war should be at an end'. This view may be right, but it can scarcely be drawn from the present passage, which seems rather to mean that Lepreum made the war an excuse for evading a legitimate payment, and the Eleans claimed their rights as soon as their hands were free. But at the same time *πρόφασις* can undoubtedly be used of a real ground or occasion, e.g. vi. 6, 1, *τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει*.

25. **τινες**—i.e. all persons concerned; i. 40, 5, *τοὺς ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν*.

30. **τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντες**—'holding the same language', i.e. acting in concert; iv. 20, fin. *ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ταὐτὰ λεγόντων*:

'their aristocratical forms of government, and their common hatred of Athens, as well as their neighbourhood to each other, tending to draw them together' (Arnold): cf. ch. 38, 7, *τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐποίουν*, of the same states. Classen and others take the words to mean '(though) holding the same views' as the Corinthians and other actual seceders, but this rendering seems not to agree with the sense of the passage and would require *ὅμως* or the like.

31. **περιορώμενοι**—probably 'looking about them', i.e. waiting the event and not committing themselves to either side. In all other passages where *περιορᾶσθαι* occurs in Thucydides it is in the middle voice. It is used (1) standing alone, vi. 93, 1, *μέλλοντες ἔτι καὶ περιορώμενοι*: vi. 103, 2, *πρότερον περιεωρῶντο*: vii. 33, 2, *πρότερον περιορώμενοι*: (2) with a dependent clause, iv. 73, 1, *περιορωμένους ὁποτέρων ἡ νίκη ἔσται*: (3) with a case, ii. 43, 4, *μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους*, where the meaning is open to question, but is probably 'regard anxiously', 'weigh too nicely' (Jowett): iv. 124, 4, *Μένδης περιορώμενος*, 'anxious about'. These are all the instances of the word, to which may be added a rare use of the active aorist, iv. 71, 1, *τὸ μέλλον περιιδεῖν*, the aorist middle not being in use.

In the present passage a difficulty is caused by the following words, **ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων**, which are found in all MSS. If they be genuine, and *περιορώμενοι* is to retain its usual meaning, they must be taken with *ἡσύχαζον περιορώμενοι* in the sense 'by reason of Lacedaemonian influence'. Such a construction though harsh is not impossible.

Otherwise, *περιορώμενοι* must be regarded as a passive. If this view be admissible, 'jealously watched' (Jowett), 'treated with honour and consideration', gives the best sense, and corresponds to the use of the middle in iv. 124, 4. Grote's rendering 'being left to themselves', i.e. not appealed to, as the Corinthians were (ch. 30), does not correspond to the use of the word in the active, which in the sense of *overlooking* requires a participle or the like expressed or implied. And the once accepted rendering 'despised', or 'feeling themselves slighted', is equally inconsistent with classical usage, besides which it is doubtful as a statement of fact and necessitates giving a harsh, though possible, adversative meaning to *καί* = 'and *yet* thinking'.

Classen follows Dobree in omitting the words *ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*, as an explanatory gloss of the supposed passive construction; while Haase's conjecture is very tempting, **τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν**, 'waiting to see what course the Lacedaemonians took'.

33. **αὐτοῖς**—referring to both states. An oligarchical

revolution had been effected at Megara in 424 (iv. 74). **πολιτείας**—form of government; i. 18, 1: ii. 37, 1: in both cases with *χρῆσθαι*.

CHAPTER XXXII

2. **Σκιωναίους**—ch. 2, 6. **ἀπέκτειναν** see iv. 122 fin. *ψήφισμα ἐποιήσαντο Σκιωναίους ἐξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι.* Classen points out that Brasidas is said to have removed the women and children from Scione and Mende to Olynthus (iv. 123, 4). The removal must have been incomplete. Similarly it is said of the Spartans at Plataea, in 427, *γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν* (iii. 68, 3), though the women and children were removed by the Athenians in 431 (ii. 6 fin.). In the case of Plataea the women were probably the 110 *γυναῖκες σιτοποιοί* (ii. 78, 3) who remained in the city. The absence of the article proves nothing, as it is regularly omitted in these phrases.

5. **Πλαταιεῦσιν**—some Plataeans (*οἱ ἀχρειότατοι*) had been removed to Athens in 431 (ii. 6), while 212 cut their way out in 428 (iii. 28, 2).

ib. **Δηλίους δέ**—see ch. 1. This statement agrees with Arnold's note, there cited, as to the anxiety of the Athenians to propitiate Apollo. **ἐνθυμούμενοι**—i. 42, 1, *ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες*: i. 120, 6: see note on *ἐνθυμίαν* ch. 16, 22. In meaning the force of the word extends to the end of the sentence. Two considerations determined the Athenians, which are connected by *τε* and *καί* with the usual variation of construction. **τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος** is genitive absolute.

8. **καὶ Φωκῆς**—nothing more is said of this war. **μέγα μέρος**—lit. 'a considerable fraction' (of the Peloponnesian powers): so ii. 20, 3, *οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως.* Tegea was of importance, being an independent state on the borders of Laconia. For the attraction of the participle **ὄν** cf. Plat. *Protag.* 354 c, *τὴν ἡδονὴν διώκετε ὡς ἀγαθὸν ὄν*, where Wayte cites numerous instances.

15. **ἀνεῖσαν τῆς**—'slackened in', partitive genitive; vii. 43, 7, *ἀνέντων τῆς ἐφόδου*: Dem. etc.: so i. 112, 1, *πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*: viii. 31, 1, *τούτου ἐπέσχεν*. Compare the twofold use of *μεθίημι*.

17. **ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτούς**—'into Boeotia'; ch. 33, 4: iv. 108, 5, *ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πεπληγμένων.*

19. **ἐπισπονδάς**—only found here. It appears to mean a subsequent or renewed truce; cf. ch. 22, 11, *ἐπισπένδεσθαι*. The same truce is called *δεχήμεροι σπονδαί* in line 29, and *ἐκεχειρία* here and ch. 26, 16.

23. **καὶ σφίσι ποιῆσαι**—'to effect, or obtain it for them too', not = *ποιεῖσθαι*. **ἀπειπεῖν**—ch. 43, 13. **ἄνευ αὐτῶν**—*αὐτῶν* refers to the primary subject *οἱ Κορίνθιοι*: cf. ch. 40, 14, *αὐτοῖς*: and see note on iv. 50, 2; and Poppo on i. 17.

28. **ἐπισχεῖν**—viii. 5, 2, *Εὐβοίας μὲν πέρι ἐπισχεῖν*: also absolutely, and as transitive, ch. 63, 15: iv. 5, 1, *ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὢν ἐπέσχεν*. **εὕροντο**—of obtaining what one desires; i. 31, 2, *ὠφελίαν τινὰ εὑρίσκεσθαι*.

31. **εἶναι σπονδάς**—see ch. 18, where the peace is made between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies. We see from ch. 36, 6, that the Corinthians and Boeotians still stood in the position of Lacedaemonian allies. **ἀξιούντων... σφίσιν**—'though the Corinthians called on them to do so, and said in expostulation that they had so covenanted with them'.

34. **ἀνακωχὴ ἄσπονδος**—'cf. i. 40, 4, *Κορινθίοις μέν γε ἔνσπονδοί ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνακωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε*. By *ἄσπονδος* is meant a mere agreement in words, not ratified by the solemnities of religion. And the Greeks considered the breach of their word very different from the breach of their oath. See ii. 5, 7, where the Plataeans maintain that they never *swore* to the Thebans not to injure them' (Arnold). Grote however considers that the words only mean a simple absence of hostilities *de facto*, not arising out of any recognized pledge; so i. 66; cf. ch. 25, 14: ch. 26, 18. **ἀνακωχή** is the form which is invariably found in the manuscripts; *ἀνοκωχή* however, which Classen reads, is in accordance with analogy and derivation. See note on iv. 117, 2.

CHAPTER XXXIII

4. **τῆς Ἀρκαδίας**—in this construction, as Krüger points out, the genitive, which commonly stands first, has the article, while the word on which it depends is usually without; iii. 19, 2, *τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυοῦντος ἀναβάς*. For **ἐς Παρρασίους**, cf. ch. 32, 17, *ἐς Βοιωτούς*. The Parrhasians, an original Arcadian race, occupied a district south-east of mount Lycaeus.

5. **ἐπικαλεσαμένων**—sc. *τῶν Παρρασίων*: see note on iv. 73, 3, *ὥσπερ ἡσσηθέντων*. Similarly in ch. 31, 13, we have *παυσαμένων*, where the accusative might have been expected.

6. **τὸ ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος**—viii. 20, 2, *τὸ ἐν τῇ Τέῳ τεῖχος*. Cypsela appears to have been a town in the level country, on the Alpheus. **ἀναιρήσοντες**—so ch. 77, 7. *καθαιρεῖν*, to dismantle or pull down, is much more common in this connexion.

9. **ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι**—*ἐπί*, 'to command or annoy'; so ch. 51, 5: cf. ch. 7, 20. Sciritis was a mountain district in the north of Laconia.

11. **τὴν πόλιν**—their own city. **τὴν ξυμμαχίαν**—'the territory of their allies'; iv. 118, 3, *ἐπιμισγομένους ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν*. Parrhasia seems meant, or possibly the district which the Mantineans had conquered, see ch. 29.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. **τῶν ἀπό**—attractional, and referring to *ἡκόντων*, as **ἐξελθόντων** denotes the expedition *to* Thrace. Poppo compares ch. 65, 17, *τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου*, also ii. 80, 1, *τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης*, and a similar construction with *ἐκ* in ii. 83, 1. Krüger's suggested transposition, *ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης τῶν*, is therefore not necessary. For the military use of *ἐξελθεῖν* cf. ch. 8, 8: ch. 54, 12.

3. **οὓς ὁ Κλεαρίδας**—in accordance with his instructions, as given at the end of ch. 21. The Lacedaemonians seem now to have evacuated Amphipolis, which remained in the hands of the Chalcidians. We read of an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Athenians to recover it in 414 (vii. 9).

5. **τοὺς μέν**—answered by **τοὺς δ'** in line 10, but in consequence of the intervening paragraphs the construction with *ἐψηφίσαντο* is dropped, and a fresh verb brought in. For the position of the participle **μαχεσαμένους** see note on iv. 5, 2: and compare such passages as i. 11, 2, *τοῦ διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος*.

7. **οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται**—'the Helots, like the villains of the middle ages, were *glebae adstricti*, and not allowed to leave the spot which was allotted to them. Thus the per-

mitting them "to live where they liked" was an essential part of their emancipation' (Arnold).

ib. **ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ**—so i. 18, 2: i. 137, 1 etc. **τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν**—according to Müller these were probably free Helots of some standing, or the sons of enfranchised serfs; see Arnold. This is the first time that they are mentioned as employed in military service; see also ch. 67, 5. In vii. 58, 3, we find that the Lacedaemonian force which Gylippus took to Syracuse consisted of Neodamodes and Helots; where Thucydides adds the explanation *δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι.*

8. **ἐς Λέπρεον**—see ch. 31, 20. **ἐπὶ τῆς** —'in the direction of', as in *τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης.*

10. **τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς νήσου**—*οἱ ἐκ τῆς νήσου* is the regular expression for these captives. Here, with the addition of *ληφθέντας*, it is a pregnant phrase, as noted on line 1.

12. **δείσαντες κ.τ.λ.**—'fearing lest they might suppose that their misfortune would stand in their way, and if they possessed their full rights they might attempt some revolutionary design'. **τι** is probably to be taken with **νεωτερίσωσιν.** Both **νομίσαντες** and **ὄντες ἐπίτιμοι** seem to have a hypothetical force, otherwise there is some awkwardness in the connecting **καί.** For **τὴν ξυμφοράν**, meaning the surrender at Pylos, see note on ch. 28, 15: cf. iv. 17, 1, *ἐς τὴν ξυμφοράν* : iv. 20, 2, *ξυμφορᾶς μετρίως καταπιθεμένης.* **ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι**—ch. 30, 18.

14. **τινάς**—'in some cases'; in partial apposition to *τοὺς ληφθέντας*: cf. ch. 96, 3, *ἀποστάντες τινές.* **ἀτιμίαν** is a cognate accusative carrying on the idea of the words before; see note on *δουλείαν* ch. 9, 42.

15. **μήτε ἄρχειν κ.τ.λ.**—'that is, they deprived them of their eligibility to offices, and reduced them in civil contracts to the condition of sojourners or foreigners, who could neither hold property, nor sue or be sued in their own name' (Arnold).

16. **ὕστερον χρόνῳ**—so i. 8 fin. etc.: with *χρόνοις* Dem. etc. 'ages after'.

CHAPTER XXXV

1. **ἐν τῇ Ἄθῳ**—elsewhere *Ἄθως* is masculine as in ch. 3, 30: iv. 109, 2. A few manuscripts here have *τῷ*. It has been suggested that *ἡ Ἄθως* denotes the region as opposed to the mountain. The reading of the whole passage is however uncertain, as a difficulty is caused by the word **Δικτιδιῆς**. The Dictidians are unknown, and there may be a corruption in the name. In ch. 82, 1, the true reading *Διῆς* is in some copies corrupted into *Δικτιδιῆς*. Dium is mentioned in iv. 109, 3 as a town in the peninsula of Athos. Accordingly here editors have adopted *τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἄθῳ Διῆς*, *τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἄθῳ Ἀκτῇ Διῆς*, or *τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθῴᾳ Ἀκτῇ Διῆς*. Poppo points out that Thucydides simply calls the peninsula *Ἀκτή* (iv. 109, 3); while moreover Dium was friendly to the Athenians till 417, when it revolted to the Chalcidians (ch. 82). He therefore proposes instead of *Δικτιδιῆς* to read *Χαλκιδῆς* or *οἱ Χαλκιδῆς*. The Chalcidians would no doubt be hostile to Thyssus; there may however have been a private quarrel between Thyssus and Dium.

4. **ἐπιμιξίαι**—of reciprocal intercourse: cf. i. 2, 2, *οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις*: see note on *ἔφοδοι* line 40. **ὑπώπτευον**—so viii. 39, 2, *ὑπώπτευον αὐτόν*. Krüger notes (iv. 51) that the construction with a simple accusative is rare in Attic writers.

7. **τὴν...οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν**—cf. ch. 50, 19: so i. 137, 7, *τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν οὐ διάλυσιν*: iii. 95, 2, *τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν*. It is a peculiarity of Thucydides, though occasionally found in other writers. Here **ἀλλήλοις** is added to the verbal substantive.

8. **τὴν γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν**—the restoration of Amphipolis was the main point, accordingly its name stands prominently in the sentence. The **ἄλλα χωρία** are those specified in ch. 18, 22 sq. and also Panactum. **πρότεροι λαχόντες**—ch. 21, 1.

11. **παρεῖχον**—note the change of tense. *παρέχω* takes the same construction with an adjective in ii. 84, 3, *τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρεῖχον*, and in other passages. **λέγοντες ἀεί**—'though they continued to declare'.

14. **χρόνους δὲ προὔθεντο**—apparently 'proposed certain dates', *χρόνοι* being plural because stipulations affecting dif-

ferent states were proposed. The scholiast explains προὔθεντο by ἔταξαν: but the middle means 'to put forward on one's own part': cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 1225, τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα προὐθέμην, i.e. 'ordered'.

15. **ξυγγραφῆς**—'a bond' or written agreement. They would only commit themselves to a verbal arrangement. **χρῆν**—i.e. according to the Spartan proposal. The imperfect is accommodated to the past tense of προὔθεντο, cf. ii. 51, 3, οὐδὲ ἓν κατέστη ἴαμα ὅ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν: and see note on iv. 29, fin. ᾗ χρῆν ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

17. **ὑπετόπευον**—the same form occurs in viii. 76, 1: ὑποτοπεῖν ii. 5, 3, etc. ὑποπτεύω is the general word in Attic prose, as in ch. 35, 6. **οὔτε Πύλον**—answered by **τά τε ἄλλα,** the clause with **ἀλλὰ καί** being parenthetical.

22. **ποιήσειαν**—'should have done', corresponding to ἕως ἂν ποιήσωσι with a primary tense. **ὄντας**—order as in ch. 34, 6.

26. **καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου**—'and (had done) everything else in their power', rather than 'had recalled their men from any other place in their hands'. For εἴ τις cf. ch. 37, 13: so iv. 26, 5, ἐσάγειν σῖτον...καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βρῶμα.

29. **ἀπολαβεῖν**—'get back', in order to restore to Athens: cf. ch. 30, 17. **κομιεῖν** in the line below probably depends on ἔφασαν: Krüger however connects it with πειράσεσθαι, referring to i. 27, 2, ἐδεήθησαν ξυμπροπέμψειν, where he cites many similar instances of the future infinitive.

31. **Μεσσηνίους**—from Naupactus; see iv. 41. Note the use of the articles here and in line 37.

36. **ὥστε**—see note on ch. 16, 26. **τοὺς ἄλλους**—ἄλλος = 'besides'. It seems possible that some of the περίοικοι as well as of the Helots might have deserted to Pylos. No such desertion is however mentioned, but only that of the Helots; see ch. 14, 20; and iv. 41, 3. The following words **τε καί** are therefore bracketed by some editors, while Classen brackets τε only. Stahl would omit Εἵλωτας as well as τε καί.

39. **ἐν Κρανίοις**—one of the four cities of Cephallenia, ii. 31 fin. **ἔφοδοι**—of mutual intercourse; i. 6, 1, διὰ τὰς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους: cf. ἐπιμιξία, ἐπιμίγνυμι: and see Barton and Chavasse on ἐπήρχοντο, iv. 120, 1.

CHAPTER XXXVI

4. **σπονδαῖς**—speaking generally. Some manuscripts have *ταῖς σπονδαῖς*, which is read by Classen. **ξυμμαχίδος**—ch. 110 fin.: i. 110, 4, *ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος*. Also as fem. adj. i. 98, 2, etc. **Ἀθηναίων κ.τ.λ.**—the Athenians were newly allied with Sparta. The Corinthians, though the prime movers of the intrigues against Sparta, were not in open hostility.

8. **οὐδέν**—Kruger compares ii. 5, 4, *ἤν τι ξυμβαίνωσι*: so iv. 41, 1, *μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβῶσι*. We have similar neuter accusatives with *πείθω* and such words. **οὗτοι οἵπερ**—so Hdt. viii. 124: vii. 170, *οὗτος ὅσπερ*. **ταὐτά**—sc. *ἀλλήλοις*, 'to act in close concert with each other, instead of disputing as they had done: see ch. 32 fin.' (Arnold). This is better than rendering 'to maintain the same policy as heretofore', i.e. to hold aloof still from alliance with Athens.

11. **λόγους ποιοῦνται ἰδίους**—'confer privately' or 'separately'; cf. ch. 37, 8, *ἐς λόγους ἦλθον*.

13. **Βοιωτούς**—subject of **πειρᾶσθαι**. After the appositional clause with **αὐτούς, μετὰ Βοιωτῶν** is written instead of *μεθ' ἑαυτῶν* to avoid any possible misunderstanding. The sentence is thus made laboured and clumsy, as in ch. 32 § 4. Jowett compares the repetition of *Ἀθηναίοις* in ch. 18, 34. Ullrich suggests *μετὰ Κορινθίων* for *μετὰ Βοιωτῶν*.

16. **ἥκιστ' ἄν**—this reading, instead of *ἥκιστα*, is adopted by all modern editors. They also assume that the force of *ἄν* extends to the following **ἑλέσθαι**. Kühner gives examples of similar construction from Xenophon in his note on *Anab.* i. 6, 2. In the present passage it seems simpler to take *ἑλέσθαι* as a positive statement, 'the Lacedaemonians chose'.

18. **πρὸ τῆς**—there is a confusion of thought, or rather of expression, in this sentence. The meaning is that the Spartans attached more importance to gaining the friendship of Argos than to incurring the enmity of Athens. The two contingencies are put as it were in opposite scales. So *πρό*, 'in preference to', is really equivalent to 'at the price of'. Again we may say that, as in Greek a negative is repeated in a negative clause, so here *Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας* is written, instead of *φιλίας*, with a proleptic force.

Two somewhat similar instances of *ἀντί*, implying exchange, are quoted from Aristotle: *Rhet.* ii. 23, 19, *ὅτε μὲν γὰρ τὸ*

μένειν ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ἡροῦντο, ὅτε δὲ τὸ μὴ μάχεσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ μένειν, 'at one time they preferred staying at the price of fighting, at another not fighting at the expense of not staying' (Cope): *Eth. Nic.* iii. 1, 7, *ὅταν αἰσχρόν τι ἢ λυπηρὸν ὑπομένωσι ἀντὶ μεγάλων καὶ καλῶν*, where *ἀντί* means 'when weighed against the prospect of'. See also Liddell and Scott *ἀντί*, ii. 2.

Classen takes *πρό* to mean 'before they became openly hostile to Athens', comparing iii. 59, 3, *εἱλόμεθα γὰρ ἂν πρό γε τούτου*: but there too preference of choice seems implied rather than priority of time.

21. **καλῶς**—'on fair and honourable terms', or, according to Stahl, = *opportune*, 'under favourable conditions', as in ch. 65, 28: i. 124, 1; cf. *πάντως*, ch. 41, 22. *κἄλλως* and *καὶ ἄλλως*, 'at all events', are suggested emendations. **ἡγούμενοι**—Classen adopts the alteration into *ἡγουμένους*: otherwise either (1) the Ephors are identified with the government generally; see ch. 37, 9, *σφίσι*: or (2) the actual construction is disregarded, and *ἡγούμενοι* written as if *ἐπεθύμουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* had gone before. The latter view seems too harsh to be possible; and cannot be supported on the analogy of such passages as iv. 52, 3, *ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια...κρατυνάμενοι*: for there the subject of the sentence is the same *in sense* though not in actual construction. **ῥᾴω...ῥᾶον**—cf. ch. 37, 11, *ῥᾳδίως*.

23. **ἐδέοντο Βοιωτούς**—if the text be sound, we must adopt the accepted explanation, 'they asked (the envoys) *as regards* the Boeotians', = *ἐδέοντο ὅπως Βοιωτοί*, for *δέομαι* governs the genitive of the person to whom request is made. See iii. 51, 2, for an accusative supplying the subject to a clause with *ὅπως*. Krüger suggests *ᾐτοῦντο*, for which Classen would prefer *ἐπήγοντο* (ch. 41, 12). But even thus the following future with *ὅπως* is an awkward and scarcely admissible construction, and it seems as if an infinitive had dropped out dependent on *ἐδέοντο* and governing *Βοιωτούς*. Classen suspects the genuineness of the whole sentence, which he thinks may be a clumsy adaptation of ch. 39, 9.

CHAPTER XXXVII

2. **ταὐτὰ ἐπεσταλμένοι**—the dative 'remotioris obiecti' which would follow the active verb becomes the subject of the passive participle, while the accusative of the direct object is joined with it; so i. 126, 6, *οἱ ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν*.

Here the accusative is further connected with the following *ὥστε ἀπαγγεῖλαι*. **ἀπό**—'on the part of'.

5. **ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά**—'to their respective communities' or 'governments', each of which was a *κοινόν* (i. 89, 3 etc.). This is the plural of a collective singular; so *ναυτικά*, 'fleets': cf. iii. 82 fin. *τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν*, the moderate or intermediate party (*τὸ μέσον*) in the several states: Ar. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 8, 9, *τὰ πολιτικὰ μένοντα ἀποθνήσκει*, 'armies (not an army) of citizens stand their ground to the death'.

6. **τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεγίστης**—possibly the *ἀρτῦναι* mentioned in ch. 47, 61. **σφίσι**='with us' i.e. the Argive nation. After *τούτου προχωρήσαντος* the subject expands still further, **πολεμεῖν** *κ.τ.λ.* referring to the entire body of proposed allies. **ἄν** is to be taken with these last infinitives.

9. **ὥσπερ Κορίνθιοι κ.τ.λ.**—see ch. 31, 28. The Mantineans had been the first to join the league, ch. 29, 1. **ἤδη**= *iam*, when this point was reached, or this advantage secured.

13. **κοινῷ λόγῳ χρωμένους**—acting and treating in common; so iv. 64, 3, of mutual conference. **εἴ τινα**='any whatever'; i. 14, 3, *Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι*: cf. ch. 35, 26. **τούτων ὧνπερ**—i.e. *ἅπερ*, with *ἐπεστάλκεσαν αὐτοῖς*. The **φίλοι** are Xenares and his adherents.

20. **βοιωτάρχαις**—see iv. 91, 1. **ἠρέσκοντο**—ch. 4, 13. **ἐς τὰ ὁμοῖα σπεύδειν**—Classen quotes Xen. *Cyr.* i. 3, 4, *εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν σπεύδετε*: elsewhere Thucydides uses *σπεύδειν* without a preposition, as in ch. 16, 9. **τὰ εἰρημένα προκαλούμενοι**—'with the stipulated proposals'; ii. 74, 2, *προκαλεσάμενοι πολλά*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1. **ἐδόκει**—not *ἔδοξε*, for they did not carry their resolution. **τοῖς ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης**—the Chalcidians, ch. 31, 29. **ἐν τῷ παρατυχόντι**—iii. 82, 7: i. 122, 1, *πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον*. **τῷ δεομένῳ**—used generically, like the well-known phrase *ὁ βουλόμενος* (ch. 28, 6). We find other instances of the generic singular, e.g. iv. 92, 5, *τὸν μὲν ἡσυχάζοντα...ἐπιστρατεύειν*.

6. **γνώμης**—'resolution' or 'decision'. **οὕτως**=after this;

iii. 96, 2, *τἆλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως...στρατεῦσαι*: for **ἤδη** see ch. 37, 11. **τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποιοῦν**—ch. 31, 30, *τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντες*.

9. **ταῖς τέσσαρσι βουλαῖς**—not mentioned elsewhere; nothing seems known about them. **ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ**—*mutui auxilii gratia* (Poppo); see i. 3, 2, *ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ*. The manuscripts always vary between *ὠφελία* and *ὠφέλεια*. The latter, according to Liddell and Scott, is the usual prose form; but Bekker reads *ὠφελία* throughout Thucydides.

15. **ἐκείνων**—note the use of this pronoun to denote the Lacedaemonians, though they have just been mentioned. See note on iv. 37, 2: also Shilleto on i. 132, 3.

20. **μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων**—Classen follows Stahl in reading *μετ' αὐτῶν* for *μετὰ τῶν*, understanding *ξυμμάχους* with *γίγνεσθαι*. This agrees exactly with ch. 36, 14. Otherwise either (1) *μετὰ τῶν...γίγνεσθαι* means 'to join Sparta', as in iv. 125, 1, *οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μετ' Ἀρριβαίου γεγένηνται* (Krüger): or (2), supplying *ξυμμάχους*, the sense is 'afterwards to become their allies in company with the Lacedaemonians, i.e. afterwards to form an alliance with the Lacedaemonians as well, in which the Argives and Corinthians would be included' (Jowett).

22. **σφίσι**—the natural construction is to take this as dependent on **παραινοῦσιν**. The sense then necessitates referring it to the members of the four councils, the subject of **ψηφιεῖσθαι**, while **προδιαγνόντες** refers to the Boeotarchs, the main subject of the sentence. There is considerable awkwardness in this; and the difficulty is not removed by comparing such passages as e.g. i. 20, 1, *οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἢν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ᾖ,...δέχονται*: iv. 113, 3, *κατέφυγον ἐς αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἦσαν σφίσι ἐπιτήδειοι*. For in such passages, though *σφίσιν* does not refer to the grammatical subject of the relative clause, it does refer to the general subject of the sentence, which is not the case here. It is just possible to take *σφίσι* with *προδιαγνόντες*, 'for themselves' or 'for their own nation' = 'for us'. Göller's conjecture *ἐν σφίσι* is however very tempting, and better than Bekker's *σφεῖς*.

23. **ἀντέστη τὸ πρᾶγμα**—so ch. 4, 26. **εἰ ταῦτα ἔπεισαν**—the aorist indicative, as Classen points out, implies 'an unfulfilled condition'. They had been intending to promote the alliance with Argos, (and they would have made the attempt) if they had not failed to persuade the councils.

27. **οὐκέτι**—i.e. they gave up the idea. **ἐσήνεγκαν**—so viii. 67, 1, with *γνώμην*: Hdt. iii. 81 etc. **ἔπεμπον**—lit. 'went on to send', that is they gave up their intention. **διατριβή** cf. ch. 82, 20.

CHAPTER XXXIX

1. **Μηκύβερναν**—see ch. 18, 34, where the Athenians stipulate for its independence. It was 20 stadia from Olynthus, on the gulf of Torone. Strabo calls it the arsenal (*ἐπίνειον*) of Olynthus. **Ἀθηναίων φρουρούντων**—i. 89, 2, *Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἐχόντων*, where Krüger collects instances of this frequent use of the genitive absolute.

8. **κομίσασθαι**—'recover'; ch. 15, 4 etc. **ἦλθον...πρεσβευόμενοι**—so i. 31, 3. It is a regular phrase = *πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν*. **εἰρημένον**—'this provision is not found either in the treaty or the alliance, but it may be understood, as Bishop Thirlwall remarks, in the last clause of the latter (ch. 23), or in the provision that neither party should conclude a war without the consent of the other (ib. l. 9 and 16). Or it may have formed part of a separate agreement, which Thucydides has not given' (Jowett). For the accusative absolute see note on iv. 17, 2: and Goodwin § 851.

17. **παραλαβεῖν**—i.e. in order to transfer to Athens, the regular use of this word; the converse of which is *παραδιδόναι*. *ἀπολαμβάνειν* and *ἀποδιδόναι* are generally used of restoration without a third party intervening, but this is not an invariable rule, see ch. 30, 17: ch. 42, 7.

18. **ξυγχέαι**—only here in Thucydides; *σπονδῶν ξύγχυσις*, ch. 26, 33: i. 146, fin.: Dem. *Timocr.* 729 (91), *ὅλην ξυγχεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν*: Verg. *Aen.* v. 496, *confundere foedus*. **προυθυμουμένων**—with accusative; cf. ch. 17, 7. **τὰ ἐς Βοιωτούς**—'the arrangements with Boeotia'; ch. 46, 6, *τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους*.

20. **τοῦ χειμῶνος κ.τ.λ.**—cf. ch. 56, 19: iv. 135, 1. **καθῃρεῖτο**—the Boeotians at once began to dismantle the fortress; see ch. 42, 8.

CHAPTER XL

1. **ἅμα...θέρους**—so iv. 117, 1, *ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους*: vi. 8, 1, *τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους ἅμα ἦρι*: *χειμών* and *θέρος* being the half-yearly periods by which Thucydides reckons.

3. **οὐχ ἧκον**—this is Krüger's conjecture for the MSS. reading *ἵκοντο*. One manuscript has *ἥκοντο*, which seems a confusion with the following *τό*. The uncompounded *ἱκνέομαι* does not occur in prose except sometimes in the participle; i. 99, 3, *τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα*: Hdt. vi. 84, *μᾶλλον τοῦ ἱκνεομένου*: id. vi. 65, *ἱκνευμένως*: Dem. *Macart.* 1072 § 66 (in an oracle).

4. **καθαιρούμενον**—imperfect, as at the end of ch. 39. **τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς πρός**—'between the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians': see note on iv. 80, 2. **ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους...χωρήσῃ**—*πρός* is more usual, as in ch. 22, 14: *ἐς*, according to Classen, suggests the central position and centralising influence of Sparta. It may be so; on the other hand Thucydides uses *ἐς* more loosely than any preposition to denote relation of every kind: see ch. 41, 6: and the note on ch. 39, 19.

11. **ὥστε οὐδὲ...εἶναι**—the infinitive does not depend on *ὥστε*, but is due to the *oratio obliqua* with *ᾤοντο*, the negative of *oratio recta* (*ὥστε οὐδὲ...ἔστι*) being retained. Otherwise *ὥστε* takes *μή* with the infinitive. In viii. 76, 7 we have an exact parallel to the present passage, *ὥστε οὐδὲ τούτους παρὰ σφίσι χείρους εἶναι* (in *oratio obliqua*). The usage is fully discussed and illustrated in the appendix to Shilleto's *Falsa Legatio*. For **εἶναι**=*παρεῖναι*, see note on iv. 8, 5.

13. **ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν**—between Athens and Sparta. The Argives supposed that these differences were now at an end. **αὐτοῖς**—i.e. *σφίσι*: see note on ch. 32, 26.

14. **αἱ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους...σπονδαί**—see the end of ch. 14, etc. **ἀποροῦντες ταῦτα**—vii. 48, 5, *τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν*: Hdt. iv. 179, *ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγήν*. **ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες**—'proudly hoping', *elatis animis sperantes* (Poppo): cf. iii. 83, 4, *καταφρονοῦντες κἂν προαισθέσθαι*: iv. 80, 3, *ὑπὸ φρονήματος*, 'from their high spirit'.

23. **ἡγούμενοι...κράτιστα**—it is open to doubt whether *κράτιστα* is to be taken (1) as an adjective with *ἡγούμενοι*, 'thinking it the best course', or (2) adverbially with *σπονδὰς*

ποιησάμενοι, 'on the best terms admissible'. In the latter case *ἡγούμενοι* is used, as in ii. 42, 4 (a very important passage), in the sense 'aequum censendi': cf. Plat. *Protag.* 346 B, Σιμωνίδης ἡγήσατο τύραννον ἐπαινέσαι: and see note on νομίζω, iv. 117, 1. (1) seems decidedly simpler. In i. 85, 3 κράτιστα is certainly an adjective; and such neuter plurals (e.g. δυνατά) are not uncommon; while ἄπορα νομίζοντες (iii. 16, 2) is almost an exact parallel.

24. **ὅπῃ ἂν ξυγχωρῇ**—'on whatever terms might be agreed on'. ξυγχωρεῖν, to accede or agree, does not seem to be elsewhere used impersonally, except in a var. lect. from Xenophon, given by Liddell and Scott. If the reading be right, it is to be explained on the analogy of ἐγχωρεῖ, which is common; unless indeed τὰ παρόντα can be understood as the subject. If the impersonal usage were established, it would be convenient to take συγχωρῆσαι, Plat. *Phaedr.* 263 C, in this way.

CHAPTER XLI

1. **ἀφικόμενοι αὐτῶν**—for the order of the words, see note on ch. 10, 49, ξυστραφέντες. **ἐφ' ᾧ ἄν**—this use of the relative for ὅτῳ is not uncommon, especially in affirmative statements; see Poppo and Krüger on i. 136, 3, δηλοῖ ὅς ἐστι: i. 137, 2, φράζει ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει: viii. 50, 5, γράψας ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ αὐτὰ πράξειε. **ἄν** of course goes with the verb, not with ᾧ: cf. vii. 36, 3, ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἄνθρωποι δεινοὶ...δράσειαν.

5. **ἐπιτροπήν**—cf. ch. 31, 15, δίκης ἐπιτραπείσης. **σφίσι γενέσθαι**—Krüger considers σφίσι as perhaps an interpolation from two lines above; but it emphasizes the anxiety of the Argives 'to be allowed to refer the question to arbitration'. 'This did take place at a later period, and the result was, that Thyrea was awarded to the Argives, and retained by them down to the time of Pausanias' (Arnold).

6. **Κυνοσουρίας**—Κυνουρίας is also read, as in iv. 56, 2, where see the note. **ἧς ἀεὶ πέρι**—Classen, on i. 18, 3, ἐς τόνδε ἀεὶ τὸν πόλεμον, gives other instances of this position of ἀεί. **μεθορίας**—the Θυρεᾶτις γῆ is similarly described in ii. 27, 2; where Krüger also notes that adjectives compounded from ὅρος have often three terminations.

10. **μεμνῆσθαι**—*mentionem facere;* a sense which, accord-

ing to Classen, is elsewhere confined to the aorist *μνησθῆναι*. *μνησθῆναι* governs the genitive directly (vi. 15, 2) or takes *περί* (viii. 47, 2). **ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι**—sc. *λεγόντων*: constructed in accordance with the sense, as if *ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἴων* had gone before: cf. vii. 3, 1, *κήρυκα προπέμπει αὐτοῖς λέγοντα, εἰ..., ἑτοῖμος εἶναι σπένδεσθαι*: so in viii. 104, 3, we have a genitive absolute construction passing into the nominative.

15. **ὁποτεροισοῦν**—'to either side'; ch. 18, 65: Plat. *Rep.* 509 A, *ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁπότερον αὐτῶν* (*alterutrum*) *οὐκ ὀρθόν*: Dem. *pro Meg.* 209 § 27, *ἐὰν μὴ ἐθέλωσι ποιεῖν ὁπότεροι ταῦτα*: so *uter* is sometimes used indefinitely = either of two. **προκαλεσαμένοις**—'after due challenge'. **πρότερόν ποτε**—the account of this combat is given by Herodotus (i. 82). Three hundred picked men fought on either side. At nightfall two Argives and one Spartan remained alive. The Argives claimed the victory because *ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι*, the Spartans because their champion remained on the field, while the Argives went home. This was in the days of Croesus, in the middle of the sixth century.

18. **αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι**—Hdt. i. 82, *αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν*: Thuc. i. 105, 4, *ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν*. **μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα**—cf. ii. 41, 2, *οὐ λόγων κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια*: Ar. *Ach.* 125, *ταῦτα δῆτ᾽ οὐκ ἀγχόνη;*

22. **πάντως**—'on any terms'; vi. 20, 1: Hdt. ix. 35, *πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ*, accepted him on his own terms. *πανταχῇ* is similarly used, Soph. *Aj.* 1369: *Ant.* 634: cf. ch. 36, 31, *καλῶς*. **ξυνεγράψαντο**—'had the terms drawn up'.

24. **πρὶν τέλος...ἔχειν**—of final conclusion; iv. 118, 7, *τέλος ἔχοντες*, of ambassadors with final powers. **δεῖξαι**—sc. these terms, *αὐτά*, hence the subject of **ἀρέσκοντα**. Note the use of *εἶναι* with the participle. Krüger collects instances on i. 38, 2, *ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν*.

26. **ἐς τὰ Ὑακίνθια**—ch. 23, 24.

CHAPTER XLII

The two next chapters deal, as we see from the beginning of ch. 44, with what passed while the Boeotian envoys were at Sparta.

6. **τοὺς παρά**—see note on ch. 15, 4. **αὐτῶν**—without Spartan sanction. We find however that the Athenians took a different view. **καθῃρημένον**—the demolition of the works was now complete; see ch. 40 fin.

9. **ἐκ διαφορᾶς**—'after a quarrel'; iv. 83, 3: iv. 125, 1. **κοινῇ νέμειν**—'to use it as common pasture ground'. 'The land was left unenclosed, on purpose to avoid disputes about the boundary line' (Arnold).

15. **καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι**—'that this too was restoring it'; *καί* i.e. no less than actually giving it back, or perhaps 'even this', 'this in itself'. Most editors appear to take **τοῦτο** as governed directly by *νομίζοντες* and *ἀποδιδόναι* as a predicate in apposition. It seems however better to regard *τοῦτο* as a cognate accusative with *ἀποδιδόναι*, *in this*, the literal rendering being 'thinking that thereby too they gave it back'. There is an exact parallel to this construction, Eur. *Iph. T.* 299, *δοκῶν Ἐρινῦς θεὰς ἀμύνεσθαι τάδε*, 'thinking that in this he was repelling the Furies'.

17. **λεγομένων**—='as soon as the Athenians heard this'; the use of the imperfect verbs and participles to the end of the chapter is to be noticed. **δεινὰ ἐποίουν**—'made an outcry', or 'broke out in uproar'. There are several instances of this use of the active in Hdt. e.g. ii. 121 ε: iii. 14: so [Dem.] *Aristog.* 788. *δεινὰ ποιεῖσθαι*, 'to take a thing ill'=*indignari*, is a recognized phrase which occurs i. 102, 4: vi. 60, 4: Hdt. iii. 155: vii. 1; *ποιεῖσθαι* having the sense of 'making for one's self', i.e. regarding. It has therefore been proposed to read *ἐποιοῦντο* here, but the editors retain *ἐποίουν*. As Barton and Chavasse point out, in the appendix to their edition of Book iv., the active refers to the external manifestations, noises etc., while the middle expresses the subjective feeling.

19. **ὀρθόν**—so ch. 46, 15. Plutarch (*Alc.* 14) says *Λακεδαιμόνιοι Πάνακτον οὐχ ἑστῶσαν, ὥσπερ ἔδει, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρέδωκαν ἀλλὰ καταλύσαντες.* Thucydides says nothing of its restoration: but both accounts agree that the Athenians attributed bad faith to Sparta. **καὶ πυνθανόμενοι**—='and because, as they heard'; *καί* with the participle corresponding to *τοῦ τε...καθαιρέσει.* The conclusion of an alliance with Boeotia seems not to have been generally known at Athens till now. Yet the Argives knew of it from the first (ch. 40, 5).

21. **φάσκοντες πρότερον**—see ch. 35, 14. **ὅσα...τῆς ξυνθήκης**—the editors seem to take *ξυνθήκης* as dependent on *ὅσα* and **ἐξελελοίπεσαν** as active. It seems better to regard *ἐξελελοί-*

πεσαν as intransitive, governing *ξυνθήκης*, with *ὅσα* as cognate accusative. It is not clear whether **ἐνόμιζον ἐξηπατῆσθαι** is a main statement, or a subordinate one with *ὅσα* supplied.

CHAPTER XLIII

The monotonous account of intrigues and counter-intrigues is broken for a moment by the mention of Alcibiades, who now for the first time comes upon the scene. He is the first man of commanding abilities who appeared at Athens since the death of Pericles, and henceforward the most prominent character to the close of our author's history.

3. **αὖ**—'in their turn, on their side', as opposed to the war party in Sparta. **ἐνέκειντο**—*instabant*, see note on iv. 22, 2.

5. **ἡλικίᾳ...νέος**—the age of Alcibiades is a subject of some discussion, owing to the loose language of the authorities we have. Their statements are collected in Poppo's edition. It seems however agreed that he was in his fifth year when his father Cleinias fell at Coronea in 447. He served in the expedition to Potidaea in 432 (i. 61 sq.), *ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν* (Plut. *Alc.* 7). He was therefore now about thirty.

6. **ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει**—'*ut* in alia civitate'; see note on iv. 84, 2, *ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος*. Thirty appears to have been the recognized age in Grecian states for entering on public life.

ib. **ἀξιώματι προγόνων**—according to Plutarch Alcibiades claimed descent from Eurysaces the son of Ajax. His mother was Dinomache, of the family of the Alcmaeonidae. In Dem. *Meid.* 561 § 144, where there is a description of the ancestry and achievements of Alcibiades, he is carelessly said *πρὸς πατρὸς Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν εἶναι.*

7. **καὶ ἄμεινον**—he supported the Argives from actual conviction *also*, as well as on other grounds. **οὐ μέντοι ἀλλά**—Krüger quotes Plato *Phaed.* 62 B, *δόξειεν οὕτω γ' εἶναι ἄλογον· οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔχει τινὰ λόγον*: see Liddell and Scott, *ἀλλά*, II. 4. **φρονήματι φιλονεικῶν**—*φρόνημα* is personal pride and self-esteem; as in ii. 43, 6, *ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι*: cf. ch. 40, 14. For the construction cf. iv. 64, 1, *μωρίᾳ φιλονεικῶν*.

10. **Λάχητος**—Laches is named next to Nicias in the lists of signatories in ch. 19 and 24. He also moved the ratification of the year's truce with Sparta in 423 (iv. 118. 7). **ἔπραξαν**—'effected' or 'negotiated'; cf. what Alcibiades says at Sparta, vi. 89, 2, *ὑμεῖς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καταλλασσόμενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς δύναμιν, δι' ἐκείνων πράξαντες, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε.* Note the emphatic position of **αὐτόν**. Most manuscripts have *ἑαυτόν*, which Classen reads.

12. **κατά**—lit. 'in accordance with'. **προξενίαν**—cf. vi. 89, 2, *τῶν δ' ἐμῶν προγόνων τὴν προξενίαν ὑμῶν κατά τι ἔγκλημα ἀπειπόντων, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνων ἐθεράπευον ὑμᾶς ἄλλα τε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ξυμφοράν.* For the position of **ποτὲ οὖσαν** see ch. 34, 6: 35, 24 etc.

15. **πανταχόθεν τε**—'and so feeling himself slighted (at a disadvantage) in every way'; *τε* sums up and concludes. For **ἐλασσοῦσθαι** cf. ch. 30, 18. **τό τε πρῶτον...καὶ τότε**—'as at first...so now'; ch. 75, 27: cf. note on iv. 103, 4, *ἔπραξάν τε ἐκ πλείονος...καὶ τότε.*

16. **βεβαίους**—'to be relied on'; iii. 11. 1, *βεβαιότεροι ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτεριεῖν.* **σφίσι**—'with us', as in ch. 37, 9: 72, 10. **ἐξέλωσι** = *expugnent, evertant;* iv. 122, 6, *Σκιωναίους ἐξελεῖν*: also with names of places. Classen notes that in this sense the aorist is always used.

23. **ὡς...ὄντος...ξυμπράξων**—cf. iv. 5, 1, *ὡς ἢ οὐχ ὑπομενοῦντας* (acc. abs.)...*ἢ ῥᾳδίως ληψόμενοι βίᾳ.*

CHAPTER XLIV

1. **τῆς τε**—*τε* and *καί* connect the two things which influenced the Argives, the message of Alcibiades, and true information about the Spartan and Boeotian alliance; in ch. 11, 11 we have a similar wording. **καὶ ἐπειδή**—see ch. 58, 2, for the same combination of participial and relative construction.

2. **οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων**—so iii. 66, 2, *οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους.* *μετά* thus used is the converse of *ἄνευ*, iv. 78, 3, etc. The Argives were under a misapprehension (ch. 39, 14) when they sent their envoys.

7. **οἵ σφίσι**—lit. 'whom they had away in Lacedaemon' (ch. 41); cf. *αὐτοῖς* ch. 3, 24. **πρὸς...τὴν γνώμην εἶχον**—so ch. 48, 12: cf. ch. 13 fin.

9. **ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ**—i. 2, 3: *ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου* ii. 15, 1. The two states had been in alliance since 463 (i. 102, 4). **δημοκρατουμένην κ.τ.λ.** the same words as in ch. 29, 10. **τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν**—these words (omitted by Stahl) are a kind of afterthought. The Argives reflect that Athens is especially strong at sea, where they themselves are weakest.

12. **καθιστῶνται ἐς**—i. 23, fin. *ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν*, and often: so *ἐς φυγήν*, *φόβον* etc. **Ἠλεῖοι**—the Eleans and Mantineans had been the first to join the league; ch. 29 and 31. **τῆς ξυμμαχίας**—the contemplated alliance; ch. 13, 9.

16. **δοκοῦντες**—'who were accounted friendly to (on good terms with) the Athenians'. Philocharidas is one of the signatories named in ch. 19 and 24. Endius appears in viii. 6, 3, as connected by hereditary friendship with Alcibiades.

18. **δείσαντες**—the envoys are identified with the government that sent them. **τήν τε**—*τε* and *καί* connect the two things the Lacedaemonians feared, that the Athenians would make an alliance with Argos and refuse to restore Pylos.

21. **ἐπὶ κακῷ**—iv. 86, 1, *οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐλήλυθα*. The Lacedaemonian apology would involve some inconsistency with the statement in ch. 39, 14, *εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι ἀδικήσουσιν Ἀθηναίους*.

CHAPTER XLV

1. **ἐν τῇ βουλῇ**—foreign ambassadors first presented their credentials to the *βουλή*, they were afterwards introduced to the *ἐκκλησία*.

4. **μὴ καὶ ἤν**—*καί* most probably goes with *ἐς τὸν δῆμον*, the order being slightly irregular: Classen compares iv. 63, 2, *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν εἰ τύχοιμεν* (= *εἰ καὶ ἄγαν*): i. 120, 2, *κἂν μέχρι σφῶν*, etc. Krüger and Poppo would read *ἢν καί*. It is also possible to take *καί* with *ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ πλῆθος* (*μὴ καί, ἤν*...): this agrees with Plutarch (*Nic.* ch. 10) *μὴ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐπαγάγωνται*.

ib. **ἐς τὸν δῆμον**—i.e. in the *ἐκκλησία*. Classen follows Stahl in reading *ταὐτὰ* for **ταῦτα**. **ἀπωσθῇ**—ch. 22, 6, *ἀπεώσαντο*.

7. **μηχανᾶται δέ**—Krüger suggests *δή*, which Classen reads, comparing vi. 64, 1, *τοιόνδε τι οὖν μηχανῶνται*. **πείθει**—from this is supplied the sense 'he promises' and 'he says' with the following infinitives; or they may be connected with *πίστιν δούς* 'with the assurance that'. **πίστιν δούς**—Plut. *Alc.* 14, *ὅρκους ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς*: cf. i. 133, 1, *πίστιν διδόντος*: viii. 73, 3.

11. **ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀντιλέγειν**—for *ὥσπερ καί* see Jowett's note quoted on ch. 13, 8. For the infinitive 'by assimilation' in the relative clause in *oratio obliqua*, see Goodwin, § 755: cf. i. 91, 5, *ὅσα μετ' ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι* (= *ἐβουλεύοντο*) *οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι* (*ἔφασαν*) *γνώμῃ φανῆναι*. **τἆλλα ξυναλλάξειν**—'will effect a reconciliation in all other respects': i. 24, 4, *τοὺς φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι*.

12. **βουλόμενος...Νικίου τε**—answered by **καὶ ὅπως κ.τ.λ.** *τε* and *καί* couple the most important words. For the form of the sentence cf. iv. 70, 1, *ἔδεισε περί τε τοῖς...καὶ μή*: Plat. *Protag.* 326 A, *σωφροσύνης τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ ὅπως*. **ἀληθές**—Krüger would read *ὑγιές*, the word used by Plut. *Alc.* 14 fin. (iv. 22, 2, *εἰ τὶ ὑγιὲς διανοοῦνται*); but there seems no justification for the change. **ἐν νῷ ἔχουσιν**—'mean, intend'; so iv. 22, 2, *οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας δίκαιον*: *νῷ ἔχειν* without *ἐν* is 'to bear in mind', remember: see note on iv. 8, 5, *ἐν νῷ εἶχον*.

18. **παρελθόντες**—the regular term for 'coming forward' in the assembly. **παραγαγόντες**, line 23, is the corresponding active word.

19. **οὐκ ἔφασαν ὥσπερ**—sc. *ἔφασαν*: 'in answer to the question whether they had full powers replied No, in direct contradiction to what they had said in the Council' (Jowett). *οὔ φημι* = to deny, but the clause is framed in accordance with the literal construction rather than the actual force. **καταβοῶντος**—i. 67, 1, *κατεβόων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι....*

24. **σεισμοῦ**—'cf. ch. 50 fin.: viii. 6, 5. But if an earthquake happened after any enterprise was actually begun, it was interpreted as a sign of encouragement on the part of the gods to persevere in it. See Xen. *Hell.* iv. 7, 4'. (Arnold.) See Liddell and Scott, *διοσημία*.

CHAPTER XLVI

1. **τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ**—'next day's assembly'; so i. 44, 1. It has been questioned whether *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ (μάχῃ)*, vii. 11, 2, has this meaning or simply = *ὑστέρᾳ*. **καίπερ** belongs especially to **καὶ αὐτός**, 'himself too', as Classen indicates by marking off with commas the clause **τῶν...ἠπατημένων**. The two participial clauses are not coordinate, but the second is the consequence of the first. Alcibiades had deceived the envoys, and Nicias thus found himself in a thoroughly false position. The strengthened form of the participle **ἐξηπατημένος** emphasizes the disappointment of Nicias, if indeed it has any particular force. Poppo however considers that sound is sometimes consulted rather than sense in such alliterative clauses. He cites Eur. *Iph. T.* 984, *σῶσον...ἔκσωσον*, etc.

4. **ὅμως**—disappointed as he was by the envoys, he still clung to the hope of a Lacedaemonian alliance. **ἐπισχόντας**—ch. 32, 28. **τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους**—ch. 39, 19, *τὰ ἐς Βοιωτούς*.

8. **λέγων**—'urging', lit. going on with his speech: Poppo, with Arnold, takes it = *iubens*, *suadens*; 'advising them to put off'; a force of which instances from tragedy may be found in Liddell and Scott. There are also prose instances in Krüger's Grammar, § 55. 3, 13. Here however there is no need thus to force the meaning of *λέγω*. To render 'saying, we (thus) put off the war', gives an excellent sense.

ib. **ἐν...καλῷ**—under conditions and circumstances which bring honour to us and discredit to Sparta. *ἐν καλῷ* is used of conditions and circumstances, ch. 59, 21: ch. 60, 13; though there the sense is somewhat different. For the use of adjectives cf. vi. 11, 6, *τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπές*.

11. **ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον** with *διασώσασθαι*, as *ὅτι τάχιστα* goes with *διακινδυνεῦσαι*: it being a common mannerism of Thucydides thus to break up the stiffness of grammatical connexion. For the force of the aorist cf. ch. 16, 14. **εὕρημα**—Hdt. vii. 155: Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3, 18, *εὕρημα ἐποιησάμην, εἰ*.

15. **ὀρθόν**—as Panactum was already known to be dismantled (ch. 42, 19), this looks like an attempt to please the mob with a show of spirit, unless indeed the demolition was supposed to be incomplete. **ἀνεῖναι**—so *τὴν ἐπιτροπήν* ch. 31, 17. **καθάπερ εἴρητο**—ch. 39, 15.

19. **ὅτι...πεποιῆσθαι**—after the conditional clause the construction with *ὅτι* is neglected; so iv. 37, 1, *γνοὺς ὅτι, εἰ... ἐνδώσουσι, διαφθαρησομένους αὐτούς.* **ἂν...πεποιῆσθαι** -pluperfect. The combination of tenses implies, 'if we wished to wrong you (which we do not), we should have already made the Argives our allies'. The imperfect refers to a wish, the present existence of which is denied, the pluperfect to one definite act, which would have been completed before now: Goodwin, § 410.

20. **ὡς παρεῖναι**—ch. 45, 11 note. **αὐτοὺς αὐτοῦ**—Poppo, on ch. 30, 14, collects instances of similar jingles, which plainly were not unpleasing to the writer's ear. **εἴ τι** = *ὅσα*, and so it is answered by *πάντα*.

22. **τοὺς περὶ Νικίαν**—ch. 13, 2: so infra, line 29. **ἀνήσουσι Βοιωτοῖς**—lit. 'throw it back on the hands of the Boeotians, unless etc.', or **Βοιωτοῖς** may be *dativus incommodi*.

29. **ἐπικρατούντων**—vi. 74, 1, *ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι.* **τὸν ἔφορον**—the repetition of the article is ugly, and Classen omits the words as an interpolated note: cf. however ii. 67, 2, *τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον.* *ἐφόρων* should possibly be read instead of *τὸν ἔφορον*, as two manuscripts have *ἐφόρων* and one omits *τόν*. For Xenares and his party see ch. 36, 9.

30. **τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης**—i. 113, 2, *ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν.* **ἀνενεώσαντο**—according to the provisions of the treaty concluded the year before, ch. 18, 61.

33. **αἴτιος** —'for he was accounted responsible for the treaty with Sparta'. The position of this clause makes it an explanation of *ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.* Note **δοκῶν** not *δόξας*: not 'he feared he might be accounted' etc.: but 'being held responsible as he was, he feared he should be discredited'.

36. **δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον**—according to Classen simply 'were indignant', but an object seems implied though not expressed. They were indignant at Nicias' failure or at the conduct of the Lacedaemonians. The other instances which Classen cites may be similarly explained. **παρόντες** implies that the envoys were already in Athens; **παραγαγόντος** that they were now brought before the assembly.

CHAPTER XLVII

Defensive treaty between Athens and the Argive league. Mantinea and Elis, no less than Argos and Athens, are spoken of as imperial States, the meaning being that the towns which Mantinea had acquired (ch. 29) and Lepreum, which was claimed by Elis (ch. 31), are recognised as their subject allies (Jowett). In Professor Jowett's second volume there is an account of a fragment of a marble tablet, containing portions of this treaty, discovered in 1877 on the Acropolis.

1. **ἑκατὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτη**—cf. the order in iii. 90 fin. *ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων...προσεχώρησαν.*

4. **ἑκάτεροι**—Athens and Argos respectively, not = *ἕκαστοι.* The members of the Argive league are here taken as a whole: in line 35 it is different. **ἀδόλους**—see ch. 18, 13, etc. The wording of this treaty is in many respects identical with the formulas in ch. 18 and 23, with slight verbal changes, e.g. *μὴ...τέχνῃ μηδὲ μηχανῇ* is here written instead of *μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε μηχανῇ.* There is the usual mixture of imperative and infinitive construction.

6. **ἐπὶ πημονῇ**—ch. 18, 15.

15. **ἐπαγγέλλωσιν**—'send word' i.e. require; so vi. 56, 1, *ἐπαγγείλαντες ἥκειν.* Sometimes the word is used with the acc. like *impero*; iii. 16, 3, *κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον τεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλῆθος*: vii. 17, 1, *στρατιὰν ἐπαγγέλλων ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους.*

18. **ταύτην τὴν πόλιν**—'the state in question', so twice in ch. 23.

35. **μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν** –see ch. 56, 7. Krüger, who is followed by Stahl, regards these words as spurious, but they seem intended to guard against any possible evasion. **εἶναι**—'be allowed'. **ἢν μή**—*διίωσι* or *ἐῶσι* may be mentally supplied. Such participial constructions are not uncommon with *εἰ μή*, and in effect are simply adverbial.

40. **ἐπὴν ἔλθῃ**—*ἐπήν* occurs twice towards the end of viii. 58, in the terms of a treaty; and three times in Aristo-

phanes. In Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1364, it is read by Hermann and Paley (for ἐπάν), and is found in Isocrates and Xenophon. The later form ἐπάν, according to Krüger's *Grammar*, is more strictly Attic. The subject of **ἔλθῃ** is supplied from the sense, sc. ἡ βοήθεια or ἡ στρατιά.

41. **ἀπιοῦσι κατὰ ταὐτά**—the words κατὰ ταὐτά are confusing. They seem at first to suggest another period of thirty days; but they probably only imply maintenance on the way home, 'in the same manner' as on the way out. The city which applied for aid was thus entitled to help for 30 clear days without incurring expense.

43. **τῷ μὲν ὁπλίτῃ**—for this use of τῷ = 'each', Krüger compares Xen. *Anab.* i. 3, 21, ὑπισχνεῖται δώσειν τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ. Arnold says 'It shews the democratic character of the contracting commonwealth, that the archer, and even the light-armed soldier, should have received the same pay as the heavy-armed soldier. Thus at Athens even the seamen received as high pay as the heavy-armed soldier: see iii. 17, 4: vi. 31, 3'. The archers are distinguished from the other light-armed troops, as in iv. 36, 1, where Poppo's note may be consulted.

44. **τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς Αἰγιναίους**—usually assumed to be equivalent to five Attic obols; the Aeginetan and Corinthian drachma being worth ten Attic obols. See Jowett on iii. 70, 4, where a different view is noticed.

54. **κατὰ ἱερῶν τελείων**—'over' lit. 'down over, or on': Dem. *Aph.* 852, § 26, κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, 'on our heads': id. *Con.* 1269, § 40, κατὰ παίδων. **ἱερὰ τέλεια** seem to be 'full-grown victims', rather than 'victims without blemish' or 'in full numbers'. Arnold compares Hdt. i. 183, where τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων are contrasted with τὰ γαλαθηνά. So *hostiae maiores* are distinguished from *hostiae lactentes*.

59. **αἱ ἔνδημοι ἀρχαί**—'the home authorities', meaning, according to Arnold, the archons, secretaries etc. as opposed to the στρατηγοί or foreign office. In Aesch. *Timarch.* 45, we have μηδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀρχέτω μηδεμίαν μήτε ἔνδημον μήτε ὑπερόριον: so Ar. *Pol.* iii. 9, 8, τὰ ἔνδημα are home affairs, τὰ ὑπερόρια foreign affairs: cf. Thuc. i. 70, 4, ἀποδημηταὶ πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους 'most stay-at-home people'. For the concrete use of **ἀρχαί**, see note on τὰ τέλη, iv. 15, 1.

61. **ἐξορκούντων**—'administer the oath'; Dem. *Meid.* 535, § 65: in Hdt. iii. 133, and iv. 154, ἐξορκῶ takes the accusative and denotes binding a person by oath.

ib. **οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα**—nothing is known of these. They may have been a more aristocratical council than the *βουλή*, and the **ἀρτῦναι** may have been the presiding officers, who, as Müller suggests, had succeeded to the civil authority of the kings (Arnold). If **αἱ** *ἀρτῦναι* is the right reading, it is analogous to *αἱ ἀρχαί*: *οἱ ἀρτῦναι* (Duker) would come from *ἀρτύνας* (*ης*). Poppo suggests *οἱ ἄρτυνοι*, a form found in Plutarch.

62. **οἱ δημιουργοί**—a common title of the magistrates in the Peloponnesian states, with the exception of Lacedaemon. In i. 56, 2, *ἐπιδημιουργοί* are officials sent from Corinth to the colony of Potidaea. **οἱ θεωροί**—'a sacred college, whose functions were perpetual, like the colleges of pontifices and augurs at Rome. Like the Pythii at Lacedaemon, they had the care of all oracles delivered to the state, and probably had a general control over religious matters' (Arnold).

64. **οἱ τὰ τέλη ἔχοντες**—Arnold says that the phrase is not simply equivalent to *οἱ ἐν τέλει* or *τὰ τέλη*. He believes that some particular 'council of administration' is probably meant, smaller than the general council of six hundred. Krüger brackets the words as spurious, the phrase being unusual. In iv. 118, 7, *τέλος ἔχοντες* means 'having full powers'.

66. **ἀνανεοῦσθαι**—see ch. 18, 61. Arnold points out that the times specified were such that the renewal of the oaths might be completed on both sides before the return of their respective great public festivals. The great Panathenaea were celebrated every four years, in the third year of the Olympiad.

74. **ἐν ἀγορᾷ**—ch. 18, 64, note: **ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ**, as below, is more common.

76. **καταθέντων**—'deposit', instead of the more usual *στῆσαι* (ch. 18, 62); this tablet and inscription would be in the care of the Eleans. **τοῖς νυνί**—at the Olympian festival which was close at hand, ch. 49, init.

CHAPTER XLVIII

1. **αἱ ξυμμαχίαι**—Classen reads *ἡ ξυμμαχία*, as in ch. 27, 2, where see note. Here at any rate the plural seems unobjectionable, as four contracting powers are concerned.

3. **οὐκ ἀπείρηντο**—'were not renounced'; the active is not uncommon in this sense. The pluperfect denotes not only the fact, but the state of things resulting, i.e., the continuance of the alliance between Athens and Sparta; see note on iv. 13, 1.

ib. **οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑτέρων**—ii. 67, 5 *μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων* etc.: so Dem. Aeschin. etc. *ἐν οὐδετέροις* and the like forms are characteristic of late Greek (Krüger).

4. **Κορίνθιοι δέ κ.τ.λ.**—though the Corinthians had become allies of Argos (ch. 31, 28) they would not join the new league, just as they had before refused to be parties to an offensive and defensive alliance. We have no particulars of this in ch. 29—31; but it would seem that the other confederates of Argos had made such an alliance, while the Corinthians had only concluded a defensive treaty, as they originally proposed (ch. 27, 15). This treaty they now call *τὴν πρώτην γενομένην ἐπιμαχίαν*. The words *ἀλλὰ καὶ...οὐ ξυνώμοσαν* are thus parenthetical, and **ἀρκεῖν δ' ἔφασαν** carries on the sense from **οὐκ ἐσῆλθον**.

9. **τὴν πρώτην γενομένην**—so iv. 38, 3, *ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας*. **ἐπιμαχίαν**—a defensive alliance; i. 44, 1, *ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν*. The verb has been noticed ch. 27, 16. These words do not occur elsewhere in Thucydides.

10. **οἱ μέν**—so ch. 67, 11: iv. 32, 1 etc.: a fresh sentence more commonly begins with *οἱ μὲν οὖν* or *καὶ οἱ μέν*. **πρὸς... εἶχον**—cf. ch. 44, 8.

CHAPTER XLIX

1. **Ὀλύμπια...οἷς**—so iii. 8, *ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς ᾗ Δωριεὺς τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα*. *οἷς* and *ᾗ*, datives of time or date, may explain such constructions as ii. 20, 1, *ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ*: iv. 26, 7, *γαλήνῃ* 'in a calm'. Editors note that in later times it was generally the victor in the *στάδιον* whose name was associated with the Olympiad. Possibly Thucydides names athletes of unusual distinction. See Lid. and Scott for the difference between *Ὀλύμπια* and *Ὀλυμπιάς*.

3. **ἐνίκα**—'was victorious'; the imperfect is the regular usage with *νικῶ* even when a single definite victory is in

question: i. 13 fin. Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες: so with κρατῶ etc. (Goodwin § 27). In vi. 16, 2, however, where Alcibiades is speaking of his Olympic victory, he says ἐνίκησα δέ, 'I won the prize'; regarding his former victory as a single fact now entirely past; see note on ch. 51, 8.

ib. **τοῦ ἱεροῦ**—the whole of the sacred precincts. The Lacedaemonians were excluded from taking part in the ceremonies and games in any public recognized capacity.

5. **τὴν δίκην**—'the penalty'; an uncommon use of the word to denote a specific fine. Such passages as Soph. *Aj.* 113, κεῖνος δὲ τίσει τήνδε κοὐκ ἄλλην δίκην, are only partly analogous. **ἐν τῷ...νόμῳ**—'in accordance with'; i. 77, 1, ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις: ch. 31, 23, ἐν ᾗ: Dem. *Lept.* 497, § 131, τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐν οἷς ἀτελεῖς εἰσίν. The expression, as Arnold says, seems to denote what was *specified in* the law; he compares vii. 11, 1, τὰ μὲν πραχθέντα ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἴστε.

6. **κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν**—'had got them condemned to pay': καταδικάζω, like other legal words (e.g. τιμᾶν, τιμᾶσθαι), is used in the active of the court which pronounces the judgment, in the middle of the plaintiff in whose interest the court acts: Dem. *Meid.* 571, § 176, δίκην ἐμπορικὴν καταδικασάμενος Μενίππου, 'having obtained a verdict in a mercantile suit against Menippus'. In the present case the plaintiffs and judges would seem to have been more or less identical, being Eleans; but no complaint is made of this, the only dispute being about the facts.

7. **φάσκοντες (ἐς) σφᾶς**—ἐς is a conjecture which is due to Shilleto. It might have easily dropped out after the word before, and it gives an excellent sense, the Eleans complaining that 'their territory was invaded' at two points; cf. iv. 77, 1, στρατεύειν ἐς Βοιωτούς. The manuscript reading, φάσκοντες σφᾶς, is very suspicious. Classen refers σφᾶς to Λακεδαιμόνιοι, the main subject of the sentence, and explains a similar σφᾶς in vi. 61, 5, in the same way. See note on σφίσι, ch. 38, 22. Jowett, on the other hand, considers that the Herodotean usage of σφέας etc. for αὐτούς is not altogether extinct in Thucydides, especially when repetition is to be avoided. Many editors adopt Dobree's conjecture σφῶν, comparing such phrases as viii. 96, 2, σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ πλεῖν. ἀφίσιν might also be suggested.

The military operations of which Elis complained must have taken place after what is related in ch. 31, 20, unless

indeed that account is partly anticipatory. Possibly, as Grote suggests, the Eleans had renewed their attacks on the district of Lepreum.

8. **αὐτῶν**—dependent on *Λέπρεον* according to most editors: Jowett however seems right in taking it with *ὁπλίτας*. We have seen (ch. 31) that the Eleans refused to accept the award of the independence of Lepreum, after being strengthened by their new allies. Classen inserts *χιλίοις* before *ὁπλίτας*.

10. **καταδίκη**—'fine'; (Dem.) *Euerg.* 1154, § 51. **ἦσαν**—cf. i. 10, 1, *Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν*. Arnold points out that two minae was the ordinary ransom of a Peloponnesian soldier taken prisoner in battle; Hdt. vi. 79, *ἄποινα δέ ἐστι Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν*.

13. **καταδεδικάσθαι**—probably passive impersonal or with *τὴν δίκην* implied as subject, like *ἐὰν δ' ἀργυρίου τιμηθῇ* (*Timocr.* 721), and similar phrases in Demosthenes. Classen however takes it as middle, which is possible so far as the form is concerned.

15. **Ἠλεῖοι δέ**—'the Eleans maintained that the truce at Elis was already in force &c.'. They were thus precluded from resisting the Spartan aggression. How the Spartans were to be expected to know that the truce had begun does not appear; the Eleans seem to have had the entire regulation of all matters concerning the Olympic festival.

20. **ὑπελάμβανον**—'rejoined, urged in reply'; ii. 72, 1, *ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε*. The word is perpetually used in Demosthenes of counter-arguments. **ἔτι**—'after this'. **ἀδικεῖν**—lit. to be already *ἄδικοι*: *ἀδικεῖν* being one of the verbs thus used in the present, like *φεύγειν*, 'to be in exile', *νικᾶν*, etc. to denote a present condition following a past act. **ἀδική-σαντας**, just before, refers to the commission of a definite act of trespass.

22. **ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς νομίζοντας**—lit. 'but that they had done this (announced the treaty) not as if they considered themselves wronged (but as if they did not)'. Krüger (*Grammar* § 67, 4) shows the elliptical nature of such constructions: cf. Eur. *Hip.* 699, *ζητοῦσα φάρμαχ' ηὗρον οὐχ ἁβουλόμην*: Xen. *Mem.* i. 1. 19, *Σωκράτης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ὃν τρόπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι*.

ib. **καὶ...ἐπενεγκεῖν**—'and that they (the Lacedaemonians) had not after this attacked them at any point'. Note the change of subject.

23. **τοῦ αὐτοῦ...εἴχοντο**—'held to the same statement'; iv. 66, 2, *τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἔχεσθαι*: Hdt. vii. 5, *τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο*: vii. 6, *τῶν αὐτέων λόγων ἐχόμενοι*. **μὴ ἂν πεισθῆναι**—'they could not be convinced'; i. 139, 1, *προὔλεγον μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι πόλεμον*: vi. 102 fin. *νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι*: but iv. 99, 2, *νομίζοντες...οὐκ ἂν κρατῆσαι*. There seems no difference in meaning between the two forms of expression; though *οὐ* is the more regular, being retained from the direct speech: see Goodwin, § 685: Madvig's *Syntax*, § 205. Can any difference in meaning be seen between *λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλθαι πω* (line 13) and *ὑπελάμβανον ...οὐδαμόσε ἐπενεγκεῖν* (line 23)? Both represent a direct statement with *οὐ*.

27. **γίγνεται**—'becomes due': Dem. *Timocr.* 726, § 83, *τὸ τίμημα τὸ γιγνόμενον*.

CHAPTER L

5. **ἀπομόσαι**—this is the invariable reading, and is interpreted 'to swear solemnly'. Elsewhere *ἀπόμνυμι* always has a negative force, and means 'to disclaim on oath'. Should *ἐπομόσαι* be read here? Arnold suggests that *ἀπομόσαι* may perhaps be justified, as the oath would be exculpatory in effect.

8. **θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων**—usually regarded as explanatory of *τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, and coordinate in construction. Some authorities however take *τοῦ ἱεροῦ* as dependent on *θυσίας*, or conversely translate, 'from the sacred observance of sacrifice'. The position of the article is against such renderings. Krüger suggests that *θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων* may be a note interpolated from ch. 49, 4.

9. **ἐθεώρουν**—were formally represented by their *θεωροί*: viii. 10 init. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά (τὰ Ἴσθμια)*. Individual Spartans were not excluded.

11. **ξὺν ὅπλοις**—'under arms'; one of the regular phrases in which *ξύν* is used in prose. Classen unaccountably takes **τῶν νεωτέρων** as dependent on *ὅπλοις*, and naturally calls it a strange expression. Surely the construction is obvious even

without such instances as *νεῶν τριῶν φυλακή* (ii. 93 fin.): *τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τριήρων ἐλάνθανον* (iv. 26, 7).

13. **ἐν Ἄργει ὑπέμενον**—'had been waiting at Argos for the feast', and then moved towards Olympia (Jowett). This is a legitimate sense of the imperfect, referring to duration of time before *ἦλθον*; cf. i. 9, 2. *ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν*. Otherwise the reading *ἐν Ἄργει* must be wrong, as Argos was seventy or eighty miles off. Classen accordingly adopts *ἐν Ἀρπίνῃ*, Harpina being a town in the valley of the Alpheus, 20 stadia from Olympia. It seems however natural that Argos, the head of the league with Athens, would find quarters for an Athenian detachment, which had probably been sent in readiness by the advice of Alcibiades.

16. **Λίχας**—Lichas was a man of eminence. He was one of the envoys to Argos, ch. 22, 11 (cf. ch. 76, 13), and is mentioned several times in the eighth Book. **ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι**—'on the course' or place of contest, an Homeric use; so infr. line 20. Otherwise the meaning might be 'in the midst of the assembly' or 'during the meeting'.

17. **ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδούχων**—the *ῥαβδοῦχοι* were probably the officials acting under orders from the presiding *Ἑλλανοδίκαι* or *ἀγωνοθέται*, rather than these authorities themselves. **πληγὰς λαμβάνω** is the regular phrase for 'being beaten' and is accordingly constructed with *ὑπό*. For the 'defective verb *τύπτω*', see the Appendix to Sandys' *Private Orations of Demosthenes*.

Grote points out how much less harsh and rough, by comparison with this incident, was the manner of dealing at Athens, where personal violence was illegal. He adds 'the boldness of the Eleans in putting this affront upon the most powerful state in Greece is so astonishing, that we can hardly be mistaken in supposing their proceeding to have been suggested by Alcibiades and encouraged by the armed aid from the allies. He was at this moment not less ostentatious in humiliating Sparta than in showing off Athens' (ch. 55).

18. **νικῶντος**—ch. 49, 2. **ζεύγους**—chariot and pair. Whether Lichas won the final heat we do not know, or even whether there were more heats than one. Grote (ch. 55) discusses the matter at length, and strives to show that this was the Olympian festival at which Alcibiades made his unparalleled display of magnificence as *θεωρός*, and entered seven chariots, taking the first, second and fourth place (vi. 16, 2).

19. **Βοιωτῶν δημοσίου**—Lichas had entered his chariot under the name of the 'Boeotian community', which was accordingly declared victorious: Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2, 21, *Λίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἅρμα. δημόσιον* may mean a state, as in Hdt. i. 14, *Κορινθίων του δημοσίου*: and the article is omitted, as it often is with quasi-proper names, so ch. 18, 42, *ἐν δημοσίῳ* (*ἐν τῷ* just before): vi. 31, 3, *ἐκ δημοσίου.* Poppo suggests that *δημοσίου* might possibly be taken as an adjective agreeing with *ζεύγους*, 'his chariot being proclaimed as belonging to the Boeotian state'. States, like kings, seem to have competed in the race; cf. vi. 16, 2, where Alcibiades says that he entered more chariots than any private person before him.

19. **οὐκ ἐξουσίαν**—see note on ch. 35, 7. **ἀγώνισις** is not found elsewhere in classical Greek. **ἀνέδησε**—iv. 121, 1, *στεφάνῳ ἀνέδησαν.*

24. **ἡσύχασαν**—the aorist, 'became quiet' or 'were pacified', suggests that they had actually made some threatening movement; otherwise we should expect the imperfect: cf. viii. 86, 2, *μόλις ἡσυχάσαντες ἤκουσαν.* **αὐτοῖς**—'as for them'; ch. 3, 24. The Lacedaemonians seem meant, though Krüger refers the word to *πάντες.* Twelve years afterwards the Spartans avenged the insult they had received, by invading and ravaging the land of Elis; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2, 23—31.

28. **τέλος**—'finally': ii. 100 fin. *τέλος ἡσυχίαν ἦγον*: vii. 44, 7 etc.

CHAPTER LI

1. **Ἡρακλεώταις**—see note on iv. 78, 1. The establishment of Heraclea as a Lacedaemonian colony and place of arms, and the hostility with which it was regarded by the neighbouring Thessalians, are described in iii. 92, 93. In those chapters we have terms corresponding to those in the present passage. For **πολέμια ἦν** cf. iii. 93, 2, *διὰ παντὸς ἐπολέμουν*: for **ἐπὶ. .ἐτειχίσθη** ib. *ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐτειχίζετο* (so iv. 75, 1, *ἐπὶ τῇ Σάμῳ*, of a standing menace): for **καθισταμένῃ** passive, iii. 92, 4, *καλῶς ἐδόκει καθίστασθαι*: for **φθείροντες**, iii. 93, 2, *ἔφθειρον.*

6. **εὐθύς τε...καὶ τότε**—see note on ch. 43, 16.

8. **ἐνίκησαν**—so i. 29, 4, where Classen points out that the aorist is used, instead of the more common imperfect, to denote the single fact of victory, without reference to the state of things resulting. See ch. 49, 3, note.

9. **Ξενάρης**—the ephor named in ch. 36, 9. **Κνίδιος**, if the reading is right, seems to be genitive of *Κνίδις*, Ionic in form, like *Ἀφύτιος*, i. 64, 2 | *Γοάξιος*, iv. 107, 3. Cnidis however is an unknown name.

CHAPTER LII

3. **παρέλαβον**—'took into their own hands'; so twice in iii. 50. **τόν** so iii. 25, 1, *Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος*: iii. 100, 2, *Μακάριος καὶ Μενεδάϊος οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται* etc. The article in such instances does not seem to imply previous mention or special distinction. Sometimes indeed there may be an idea of opposition, as in this instance between the Lacedaemonian governor and the other colonists.

4. **ὡς οὐ καλῶς**—see the end of iii. 93, where the ruin of Heraclea is attributed to the Spartan governors. **ἐξέπεμψαν** is a milder word than *ἐξέβαλον*: cf. iv. 49.

6. **τὰ κατά** determinant accusative; ii. 96, 3, *οὐ ὡρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Παίονας*. Such phrases as iii. 6, 2, *τὰ περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο*, are open to doubt. Classen takes them as nominative; Poppo and Krüger as accusative with an impersonal passive verb: see ch. 26, 32.

12. **τῶν αὐτόθεν**—partitive genitive; iv. 80, 2, *τῶν Εἱλώτων ἐκπέμψαι*. **παραλαβών** is used like *παρακαλῶν* in ch. 6, 20.

15. **Πατρέας** Hdt. i. 145, *Πατρέες*: *Πάτραι* (now Patras) was the name of the place; Thuc. ii. 83, 3, *ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαίας*. **τείχη καθεῖναι** - cf. iv. 103, 5, *οὐ καθεῖτο τείχη*. The Athenians would thus have a secure naval station at Patrae, which would command the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, being seawards

of Rhium and Naupactus. On the same principle they had built the long walls at Megara, and garrisoned them themselves (iv. 103, 4).

16. **ἕτερον**—sc. *τεῖχος*, perhaps now, as Poppo suggests, in the sense of fortified position. **τῷ Ῥίῳ**—see ii. 84, 4 and 86, 2 for the opposite promontories called Rhium.

18. **οἷς ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ τειχισθέν**—'who would be injured by its construction'; or perhaps 'who considered that they would be injured'; lit. 'to whom it was being (was likely to be) injurious'. The imperfect indicative without *ἄν* is used in certain cases of (generally unfulfilled) condition, e.g. *ἐχρῆν*, *ἔδει*, *ἠναγκαζόμην*, *κίνδυνος ἦν* etc. (Goodwin § 416 sq.: Krüger's *Grammar* § 53, 2, 7): *ἦν ἐν βλάβῃ* is therefore not irregular. For the combination with *τειχισθὲν = εἰ ἐτειχίσθη* (or *τειχισθείη*), cf. viii. 92, 10, *ἠρώτων εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ τὸ τεῖχος ἄμεινον εἶναι καθαιρεθέν = τὸ καθαιρεθῆναι τὸ τεῖχος*: so i. 100, 3, *οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον κτιζόμενον*. Dobree, who considered *ἄν* to be necessary here, proposed to read *οἷς ἦν ἂν βλάβη*, but **ἐν βλάβῃ** is an idiomatic phrase, equivalent to an adjective, which should in any case be retained: cf. Hdt. iv. 139, *Σκύθησί ἐστι ἐν ἡδονῇ*: Eur. *Iph. T.* 494, *εἴ σοι τοῦτ' ἐν ἡδονῇ μαθεῖν*: so Tac. *Ann.* xii. 15, nec *fuit in arduo* societas.

CHAPTER LIII

2. **προφάσει μέν**—so vi. 76, 2, *προφάσει μὲν...διανοίᾳ δέ*: The accusative is also used, as in ch. 80, 21: iii. 111, 1. Here *μέν* is answered by *ἐδόκει δέ*. **Πυθαέως**—from nom. *Πυθαεύς*: so *Μηλιέως*, iv. 100, 1. The MSS. have *Πυθέως*. Arnold believes that a temple at Argos is meant. Poppo and Classen refer the passage to a temple at Asine, which the Argives, according to Pausanias, left standing after the destruction of the town. In any case a sacrifice seems to have been due from Epidaurus to the temple, in acknowledgement of some privilege of pasturage or the like.

4. **ἀπαγαγεῖν...ἀπέπεμπον**—compounds like *ἀποδιδόναι*, 'to pay when due': Ar. *Ach.* 643, *τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγοντες*: so *Vesp.* 707: cf. *reddere* rationem, poenas, etc.

5. **βοταμίων**—apparently 'pasture-lands', but not found elsewhere. Stahl reads *βοτανῶν*, comparing Plat. *Rep.* 401 B, *ἐν κακῇ βοτάνῃ* 'in bad pasture'; but there the word means food rather than land. Poppo adopts the reading of some manuscripts, **παραποταμίων** 'river-side lands'. *βωταμίων* 'sacrifices' (Doric for *βουτ.*) has also been suggested; with the meaning that Epidaurus neglected to send the necessary victims which entitled them to share in religious rites. No word of the kind is however known as is shown in Poppo's edition.

6. **τῆς αἰτίας**—'this ground of complaint', lit. 'their', that which they had. For *αἰτία* cf. iv. 85, 1 etc.

8. **τῆς τε Κορίνθου κ.τ.λ.** 'both to ensure the neutrality of Corinth, and because they thought that the Athenians would thus have a shorter distance to bring forces from Aegina'. The construction in the clause with *τε* is slightly changed, and **ἔσεσθαι** depends on the sense supplied from **ἐδόκει**: so iii. 94, 3, *ἀναπείθεται Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι, καὶ... προσποιήσειν*: iv. 3, 3, *τῷ δὲ διάφορόν τι ἐδόκει, λιμένος τε προσόντος, καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους...ἔσεσθαι*. In all three instances two reasons are given in clauses with *τε* and *καί*, and the clause with *καί*, instead of corresponding to that with *τε*, is accommodated to the construction which would have followed the main verb.

Here **ἐδόκει** first means 'seemed good': then the idea of seeming only is carried on. We have the converse Eur. *Iph. T.* 279, *ἔδοξε δ' ἡμῶν εὖ λέγειν τοῖς πλείοσι, θηρᾶν τε τῇ θεῷ σφάγια τἀπιχώρια*, i.e. we decided to do so.

The Corinthians had taken a suspicious attitude, as we see from the end of ch. 48, and **βοήθειαν** means aid to the confederacy and Argos in particular.

10. **ἢ...περιπλεῖν** so iv. 66, 3, *νομίζοντες ἔλασσω σφισι τὸν κίνδυνον ἢ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας κατελθεῖν*: vi. 60, 3, *βεβαιοτέραν σωτηρίαν...ἢ...ἐλθεῖν*. In these passages the infinitive is written, without any real construction, when a dative participle or verb with *εἰ* might be expected. So we might say, 'it was a shorter distance to send aid than rounding Scyllaeum'. From Aegina to Epidaurus was a straight passage, and the distance by land to Argos was not great.

12. **διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν**—'for the sake of exacting the sacrifice': *διά* is here used in the sense of *ἕνεκα*: see other passages in note on iv. 40, 2, *δι' ἀχθηδόνα*. Dr Rutherford calls *δι' ἀχθηδόνα* a late idiom betraying an adscript, but there seem enough instances to support it. For the order cf. i. 32, 2, *μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως*.

CHAPTER LIV

3. **Λεῦκτρα**—besides the well-known Leuctra in Boeotia, there were two towns in Peloponnesus so called, one s.w. of Sparta, on the coast near the Messenian border, the other N.W. towards the district which afterwards belonged to Megalopolis; this latter is here meant. **Λύκαιον**—sc. *ὄρος* or *ἱερόν*; the neuter adjective applying to either; ch. 16, 32.

6. **αἱ πόλεις** the Laconian cities; the allies were summoned later on. **διαβατήρια**—sc. *ἱερά*, the sacrifices for crossing the border; so ch. 116, 3. **προὐχώρει**—'proved favourable'; Xen. *Anab.* vi. 2, 21, *ἴσως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ προχωροίη ἡμῖν*. *γίγνεσθαι* is used in the same way, as in ch. 55, 17.

9. **μέλλοντα**—*μῆνα* would have been added but for the following parenthesis. **Καρνεῖος**—corresponding to Metageitnion at Athens; about August. The name was derived from the festival of Apollo Carneius. **ἱερομήνια**—'a sacred period', neuter plural, referring to the whole month, in which there were two festivals besides the Carneia. Elsewhere we have the feminine singular, as in iii. 56, 2; and it is read here by Stahl, as 'the neuter plural must come from an adjective *ἱερομήνιος* which occurs nowhere, and Schol. Pind. *Nem.* iii. 4, uses *ἱερομηνία* of the entire month' (F.).

12. **τετράδι φθίνοντος**—apparently 'on the fourth day from the end', like *τετάρτῃ* ch. 19, 2: but see Lid. and Scott, *μήν*. **ἄγοντες**—'keeping this day all the time', i.e. calling every day that the expedition lasted the 27th of the month before Carneius. This explanation, now accepted by all, is due to Grote, who shows (ch. 56) that such tricks with the calendar were by no means unknown. Other explanations formerly suggested were 'marching during this day' or 'though they always observed this day' while *πάντα τὸν χρόνον* was diversely joined with *ἄγοντες* or *ἐσέβαλον* (v. l. *ἐσέβαλλον*).

16. **τινες οἱ μέν**—not equivalent to *οἱ μέν τινες*, but *τινες* is divided by apposition into *οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ*: vii. 86, 4, *τινές, ὡς ἐλέγετο, οἱ μὲν...ἄλλοι δέ*. Other allies, not included in *τινες*, seem to have actually responded to the call of Epidaurus; ch. 55, 7. **ἡσύχαζον**—either not feeling strong enough to act independently, or deterred by the sacred season.

CHAPTER LV

2. *ἐν τῇ*—*ἐν* may be *at* or *near*, as noted on iv. 5, 1, *ὁ στρατὸς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὤν*: or 'Epidaurus' may mean the district, as it seems to do in ch. 77 and 80. **ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων**—from the cities of the league, and the half-neutral Corinth. **παρακαλεσάντων**—of summoning allies to a conference, as in ch. 17, 19.

6. **σφεῖς**—so iv. 114, 5, *τὰ πρότερα οὐ σφεῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι*: viii. 76, 4. The nominative is used when the speaker represents the entire body, and where *ἡμεῖς* would be emphatically expressed in direct speech: otherwise we have the accusative, as in ch. 65, 7: iv. 36, 1, *ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς*, =he said *ἄλλως πονοῦμεν*, where see note.

9. **ἀφ' ἑκατέρων**—probably to be taken with **ἐλθόντας**, lit. 'going from both sides', i.e. by sending envoys from the partizans of Argos and Epidaurus (or Corinth) respectively. It is also possible to take it with *στρατόπεδα*, 'to break up the armies from both sides'; for the position of *ἐλθόντας* is not opposed to such a rendering. **οὕτω**=when this was done; ch. 38, 6.

11. **πεισθέντες ᾤχοντο**—the states are identified with their envoys, as in *ἐλθόντας* before. **ἐς τὸ αὐτό**—iii. 91, 2, *ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπήντων*. **οὐδ' ὥς**—ch. 115, 7: so i. 44, 2, *καὶ ὣς ἔσεσθαι*: iii. 33, 2, *εἰ καὶ ὥς*.

16. **Καρύας**—on the road towards Tegea, north of Sparta. **οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα**—any more than at Leuctra, ch. 54, 7. **ὡς τὸ τρίτον**—iv. 31, 2, *ὡς τριάκοντα ὁπλῖται*.

21. **πυθόμενοι**—i.e. they had marched to aid Argos against a threatened invasion. The manuscripts have *πυθόμενοι δέ*, which would necessitate taking this clause with what follows, and either (1) giving to the perfect *ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι* the forced sense, 'had ended their expedition'; or (2) adopting Poppo's suggestion, that the Athenians had intended to help Argos, not against Spartan invasion, but in attacking Epidaurus, a design which was stopped by the movement of the Spartans. But *βοηθεῖν*, as Arnold points out on iv. 4, 3, would not be used of an offensive movement, unless it were subordinate to a scheme of defensive operations.

22. **καὶ ὡς**—so *καί* ch. 56, 22. If *πυθόμενοι δέ* were read we might compare ch. 44, 2, *ἀκούσαντες...καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν*.

διῆλθεν—so ch. 50, 24. It has been suggested that Thucydides uses this expression here, instead of the more usual *τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα*, because of the inconclusive character of this summer's doings.

CHAPTER LVI

3. **Ἀγησιππίδαν**—probably the same as *Ἡγησιππίδας* ch. 52, 3. **ἐπεκάλουν**—of complaining, ch. 59, 29: iv. 23, 1, *ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες*.

6. **γεγραμμένον**—accusative absolute, like *εἰρημένον*, ch. 30, 10: *δεδογμένον* i. 125, 2. The clause in question is in ch. 47, 35; the Athenians, as masters of the sea, being thus held responsible for maintaining a blockade.

9. **τοὺς Μεσσηνίους**—see ch. 35, 36. **ἀδικήσεσθαι**—passive future, as in vi. 87, 4: Eur. *Iph. A.* 1437 etc.: often in Dem.

11. **τῇ Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ**—see ch. 18, 62: ch. 23, 26. **ὑπέγραψαν**—'this was an intermediate step, to show that they did not renounce the treaty with Lacedaemon utterly. Had they done so, the monument on which the treaty was engraved would have been destroyed altogether: see Dem. *Megal.* 209, *δεῖ τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν τὰς πρὸς Θηβαίους*' (Arnold). *ὑπογράφω* is here used in the literal sense of subjoining or adding a note. In Dem. *Pantaen.* 973, *ὑπογράψας ἐπιβουλεῦσαί με αὐτῷ* is usually mis-translated: it means 'after starting with the statement that I plotted against him', *ὑπό* being used as in *ὑπάρχω*, *ὑποτίθημι* etc. see note on iv. 4, 3. With the present passage Krüger compares Ar. *Lys.* 513, *τί βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ παραγράψαι*;

13. **τοὺς ἐκ Κρανέων**—see ch. 35, 6: for construction cf. such phrases as *οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι*, i. 8, 2. **λῃζεσθαι**—infinitive of purpose (Goodwin § 770): cf. vi. 50, 4, *δέκα τῶν νεῶν προὔπεμψαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλεῦσαι*. *λῃζομαι* seems always middle in Thucydides: Classen accordingly reads *ἐλῄζοντο* for *ἐλῄζόν τε*, iv. 41, 2.

16. **ἐκ παρασκευῆς**—*ἐκ φανερᾶς παρατάξεως* (Schol.): cf. iv. 94, 1, *ψιλοὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὡπλισμένοι*, 'regularly armed'. **ὡς τύχοιεν**—the optative, like the following imperfect, denotes indefinite frequency.

19. **πρὸς ἔαρ ἤδη**—ch. 17, 9. **ὡς ἐρήμου**—'They expected that the forces of the Epidaurians would be dispersed over their whole territory in defending forts and strong positions, on account of the plundering warfare which the Argives were carrying on, and that the city would thus be left defenceless' (Arnold).

CHAPTER LVII

2. **αὐτοῖς**—'seeing their allies' etc.; ch. 3, 24. **τἆλλα**—'the other powers' i.e. states: vi. 16, fin. *Πελοποννήσου τὰ δυνατώτατα*: cf. ch. 59, 2. The construction which follows is resolved apposition, like ch. 54, 16. **οὐ καλῶς**—'in an unsatisfactory state', i.e. disaffected or disheartened.

5. **προκαταλήψονται**—without object expressed; so iii. 2, 3, *εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψεται ἤδη*: iii. 3, 2: iii. 46, 4, with *ὅπως* following. **αὐτά**—'this', i.e. the spirit of disaffection, 'the evil would spread' (Jowett): iv. 61, 4, etc. For the whole phrase, cf. Cic. *Att.* i. 13, 3, vereor ne hoc quod infectum est serpat longius.

10. **ὅσοι ἄλλοι**—see ch. 67, 8. **ἐς Φλιοῦντα**—Phlius was in the north of Peloponnesus, nearly south of Sicyon. **ἅμιπποι**—Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5, 23, *πεζοὶ ἅμιπποι*. Foot-soldiers, armed with missiles, who accompanied the cavalry, and probably if necessary mounted their horses. 'They seem to be the same sort of troops with the *ἱπποδρόμοι ψιλοί* of Hdt. vii. 158. Their use is described by Caesar *B. G.* i. 48: *B. C.* iii. 84' (Arnold). **ἴσοι**—equal in number, as in iv. 1, 1, *Λοκρίδες ἴσαι*.

15. **ὡς ἕκαστοι**—that is in such numbers as each could furnish; i. 3, 4, *οἱ ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες*. The phrase is elliptical, a verb being in each case implied from the context. **ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων**—the Phliasians, though just mentioned, are called *ἐκεῖνοι* because apart from the Lacedaemonians, who are the main subject of the sentence; see note on iv. 37, 2.

CHAPTER LVIII

1. **προαισθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον**—answered by *καὶ ἐπειδή*, the participial construction being dropped in the second clause; ch. 44 begins with a similar sentence. 'The Argives received

the first intimation of the intention of the Lacedaemonians from the preparations of their allies; afterwards their purpose was more distinctly revealed by the march of the troops to Phlius. **τότε δή** refers only to the clause beginning *καὶ ἐπειδή*. The sentence would have run more regularly, *προῄσθοντό τε...καὶ ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ.*' (Jowett).

Classen prefers to read **τότε** *πρῶτον* and to omit *καί* before *ἐπειδή*. *τότε πρῶτον* then refers to the gathering of troops by the Spartans (ch. 57). This certainly simplifies the construction, but the sentence seems to lose its Thucydidean character, and the repetition *τότε πρῶτον...τότε δή* is awkward.

4. **προσμῖξαι**—ch. 72, 8: also used of approaching an enemy (iv. 93, 1): and of coming to close quarters (iv. 33, 2, etc.).

8. **Μεθυδρίῳ** Methydrium lay to the west of Mantinea, beyond a mountain ridge. Arnold points out that the Spartans took a circuitous route to Phlius, to avoid the territory of Mantinea.

9. **καταλαμβάνουσι**—of taking up a military position; iv. 1, 1, note. **μεμονωμένοις**, as in ch. 8, 18, means 'without allies present', rather than 'deserted by allies'.

12. **ἀναστήσας**—iv. 93, 1, *ἀναστήσας ἦγε τὸν στρατόν*. **ἐπορεύετο**—began or continued his march. The route would be by Orchomenus to the north of Mantinea. Agis effected the junction with his allies, or at any rate opened communications with them, as we find the whole force after this acting in concert.

16. **τὴν κατὰ Νεμέαν ὁδόν**—the accusative seems not to be governed by *ἐχώρουν ἐς*, but rather to be explanatory of *ᾗ προσεδέχοντο* and dependent on *καταβήσεσθαι*. **κατά**—'by way of'; as we should say, they took the Nemean road: vii. 80, 1, *ἣν ἡ ὁδὸς κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς Σικελίας*. Nemea was north of Argos, between Cleonae and Phlius.

17. **ταύτην**—ch. 10, 31: iii. 24, 1, *ἐχώρουν τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδόν*. The allied troops entered the enemy's territory in three divisions, two of which crossed the mountains into Argolis, while the third, with the cavalry, went northwards by the regular road to Nemea.

22. **ὄρθιον**—'steep'; with two terminations, as in Eur. *Hel.* 632. *ὄρθριον* has good manuscript authority, and possibly **ὄρθριοι** should be read; see ch. 58, 3, *ἡμέρας ἤδη*. *ἑτέραν ὄρθιον* however corresponds to *χαλεπήν*.

23. **εἴρητο**—so ch. 10, 36: iv. 77, 1, etc. Though the construction is passive, Agis is still the subject in sense, and accordingly **σφᾶς**=Agis' division.

CHAPTER LIX

1. **διατάξας** iv. 31, 2, *ὧδε γὰρ διετετάχατο*: iv. 130, 3, *διατάσσει ὡς ἐς μάχην*, etc. The compound implies the assignment of different posts or duties.

2. **Σάμινθον** -unknown. For **ἄλλα** cf. ch. 57, 3, *τἄλλα*. Here however places, not states, are meant. **ἡμέρας ἤδη**—so i. 30, 4, *χειμῶνος ἤδη*: iii. 24, 3, *ἐπεὶ ἤδη ἡμέρα ἐγένετο*. This gives some support to the reading *ὄρθριοι*, ch. 58, 22.

7. **οὐ πολλῷ πλείους**—appositional, lit. 'in a rather greater number'; so ch. 115, 4. **ἐχώρουν**—possibly='had been marching' i.e. during the night; see note on ch. 50, 13: but perhaps simply 'continued their march.' They had taken the longer and more level road by Nemea. The tenses throughout, as in all military descriptions, are to be carefully watched.

10. **κατέλαβον**—'found', sc. there: in this sense, as Classen points out, this verb is generally followed by a participle or some note of place. **καταβάντες**—sc. the Argives. They had marched down from Nemea at once, and were now getting into battle array.

13. **ἐν μέσῳ δέ** on the south the Spartans under Agis occupied the plain, and cut them off from Argos; to the west the Corinthians occupied the mountain ridges, and threatened their flank; while from the north the Boeotian cavalry and the rest of that division were closing on their rear.

16. **τὸ δέ**—iv. 108, 1, *τὰ πρὸς Ἠιόνα τηρουμένων*. **πρὸς Νεμέας**—iv. 100, 3, *τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν ἄκρον*. **ἵπποι δέ** -there was then no Peloponnesian cavalry on either side.

20. **οὐχ οὕτω**—as we say 'not so great'=not very; so *non ita*: ii. 11, 6, *οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον οὕτω πόλιν*. Such expressions are elliptical, at any rate originally. **ἐν καλῷ** -under favourable conditions, see ch. 46, 8.

22. **ἀπειληφέναι**—sc. *αὐτοί*: the construction reverts to the original subject, as if the clause with *ἀλλά* were a mere parenthesis, *ἐνόμιζον* or *ἐδόκουν* being supplied.

24. **τῶν πέντε στρατηγῶν**—seemingly corresponding to the *πέντε λόχοι*, ch. 72, 24. Arnold says these were not originally military but political divisions. The *strategi* at Argos, as at Athens, were probably the heads of the war department.

26. **ὅσον οὐ**—iv. 36, 1, *ἐς τὸν ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον.* **ξυνιόντων**—iv. 94, 2, *ἤδη μελλόντων ξυνιέναι.* **μὴ ποιεῖν μάχην**—the active is used of the commander who orders or brings on the battle; so iv. 91, 2. *μάχην ποιεῖσθαι* is 'to fight', as in ch. 65, 20. In construction the infinitive depends on the sense of requesting implied in *διελεγέσθην.*

28. **δίκας...δοῦναι**—see ch. 27, 14. **ἐπικαλοῦσιν**—i. 139, 2, *ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι*: iv. 133, 1, without dative of the person expressed: see ch. 83, 17.

CHAPTER LX

1. **οἱ μέν** answered by **οἱ δέ**, line 10. These particles mark the two main antithetical divisions of the chapter. On the one hand the Argive chiefs acted independently, and so did Agis in accepting their proposals; on the other hand the Lacedaemonians, though they obeyed Agis, were indignant at his conduct, and the Argives were no less enraged with Thrasyllus and Alciphron.

2. **τῶν Ἀργείων**—partitive genitive dependent on *οἱ ταῦτα εἰπόντες*: cf. iii. 28, 2, *οἱ δὲ πράξαντες μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Μυτιληναίων.* There seems no ground for taking *τῶν Ἀργείων* as dependent on *ταῦτα*, as Classen does; or for omitting the words, as others propose. They are in fact necessary to make the sense clear. **ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν**—'of themselves', on their own authority; iv. 68, 2, *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης.*

3. **καὶ ὁ Ἆγις**—'and Agis likewise'; this is a subordinate part of the main division under *μέν*. **αὐτός**—'by himself', on his own authority. **οὐδέ**—no more than the two Argives.

6. **ἀλλ' ἤ**—'except'; ch. 80, 8: iii. 71, 1, *μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μιᾷ νηὶ ἡσυχάζοντας.* **κοινώσας**—without an ex-

pressed object, as we say 'having communicated with': so iv. 2, 1, etc. **τῶν ἐν τέλει**—two ephors, besides other officials, accompanied the king on service. They are enumerated in Arnold's note. Classen suggests *ξυστρατευομένῳ* as a possible alteration for **ξυστρατευομένων**.

8. **ἔδει**—'they were to', as arranged with Agis. **τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων**—as opposed to the Lacedaemonians. *ἄλλος* is used, as in i. 128, 5, *κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων*, for the sake of sharper contrast. Krüger suggests *ξυναρχόντων* or *ξυμβούλων*, but no change seems required.

12. **ἐν αἰτίᾳ** i. 35, 4, *ἐν πλείονι αἰτίᾳ ὑμᾶς ἕξομεν*: so infr. line 25. **παρατυχόν**—so i. 76, 2: line 29, *παρασχόν*. **αὐτῶν** means the Argives and their allies: it is a good instance of the sense of this word being gathered from the context. **ἄξιον**—so v. 34, 1, *ἄξια τῆς προσδοκίας*: vi. 21, 1, *ἄξιον τῆς διανοίας*.

16. **στρατόπεδον...ξυνῆλθεν**—this clause resembles i. 1, 2, *κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο*: where Classen collects a number of similar sentences, e.g. i. 50, 2, *ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγένηται*. In these instances the pronoun (*τοῦτο*), which is the subject, is placed between the substantive (*στρατόπεδον*), which is appositional, and a superlative (*κάλλιστον*) which with the verb (*ξυνῆλθεν*) forms the predicate. *Ἑλληνικόν* is appositional with a limiting force: the whole being equivalent to *τοῦτο κάλλιστον ἦν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων ὃ μέχρι τοῦδε ξυνῆλθεν*. The initial substantive from its position is in effect like a genitive plural (*στρατοπέδων*), introducing a general idea of which a particular case is to be described. Classen also cites a few variations from the regular arrangement.

17. **κάλλιστον τῶν**—see last note: so i. 1, 1, *ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων*, where Classen compares Tac. *Hist.* i. 50, *solus omnium ante se principum*. Milton imitates the construction: *Paradise Lost*, iv. 324,

> Adam the goodliest of men since born
> His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

So *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. 1. 239,

> This is the greatest error of all the rest.

This army was *κάλλιστον*, being composed of picked troops. Others may have been larger, for instance the force under Pausanias at Plataea.

18. **ὤφθη**—sc. κάλλιστον ὄν. **ἀθρόον**—apparently the whole force was collected at Nemea, after withdrawing from before Argos; or ἐν may simply mean 'near'. The army then marched away by the regular Nemean road, and broke up. **ἐν ᾧ**—when the divisions were united. The phrase refers to circumstances previously mentioned; iv. 18, 2, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει. Krüger renders it 'at which point', saying that παρῆσαν would be required if time were meant.

19. **πανστρατιᾷ**—both position and sense show that this belongs to the Lacedaemonians only, who had marched out πανδημεί: see ch. 57. The Phliasians, it is true, had called out their whole force, but here they are merely named in the general list of the allies, the rest of whom were represented by picked contingents. Those editors who refer πανστρατιᾷ to all the nominatives are obliged to render it 'with all the troops they had in the field'; which is simply explaining the word away.

21. **καὶ οὗτοι**—'these also being picked men', in apposition to the preceding subjects. **ἀξιόμαχοι δοκοῦντες**—'looking a match,' rather than 'thinking themselves', cf. ὤφθη supra. **καὶ ἄλλῃ**—this is the manuscript reading, and represents ἀξιόμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλῃ ξυμμαχίᾳ προσγενομένῃ (= εἰ προσγένοιτο), which is perfectly good Greek and gives a satisfactory sense. Krüger however and others adopt **κἂν** ἄλλῃ, on the ground that the idea represented is καὶ ἄλλῃ ἂν ἀξιομάχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι εἰ προσεγένετο. I cannot see that the alteration is necessary, or even desirable: cf. note on τειχισθέν, ch. 52, 17; and Goodwin § 213—217, for ἄν with participles.

24. **στρατόπεδον**—followed by the plural; so i. 89, 3, Ἀθηναίων τὸ κοινὸν...διεκομίζοντο: iii. 80, 1, ὁ δῆμος...ἦεσαν ἐς λόγους. **ἀνεχώρουν**, like εἵποντο, line 11, denotes the beginning and continuance of the retreat.

26. **καὶ αὐτοί**—'on their own part also'. **καὶ ἐκεῖνοι**—i.e, no less than the Lacedaemonians, with whom they are emphatically contrasted by the use of this pronoun; cf. iv. 73, 4, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...ἡσύχαζον καὶ αὐτοί...λογιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, where both αὐτοί and ἐκείνων refer to the Athenians. See also note on iv. 37, 2, παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ὥστε βουλεῦσαι ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ: and of Shilleto on i. 132, 3.

29. **μὴ ἂν...παρασχόν**—'when they never could have had a better chance'; see Krüger on i. 76, 1, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἧσσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους: and note on ch. 49, 24. For ἄν with a participle, see Goodwin § 41, 3: and for **παρασχόν** cf. ch. 14, 14.

33. **ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ**—the bed of a winter torrent, which flows close under the walls of Argos. 'The military courts were held without the city, because within the walls the ordinary law, with its forms and privileges, would have resumed its authority...So also the Comitia Centuriata at Rome always met in the Campus Martius without the walls, because their original character and divisions were military' (Arnold).

ib. **στρατείας**—most MSS have *στρατιᾶς*, the usual confusion. **περιγίγνεται**—'saves his life': Hdt. ix. 121, *ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διήκοσια περιγενόμενος*, 'if my life be spared'.

CHAPTER LXI

3. **Λάχης**—most probably the same who commanded the first expedition to Sicily (iii. 86, 1), and was superseded by Pythodorus. His name appears among the signatories to the treaty and alliance in ch. 19 and 24. Nicostratus was sent to Corcyra in 427 (iii. 75); was employed on the Laconian coast in 424 (iv. 53); and in the Macedonian expedition in 423 (iv. 129 sq.).

4. **ὅμως**—though indignant and disgusted at the arrangement made; cf. ch. 46, 4: iii. 28, 2, *ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ὅμως καθίζουσι*, i.e. although terms had been promised.

7. **χρηματίσαι**—ch. 5, 3. **πρὶν ἤ**—Lid. and Scott say *πρὶν ἤ* 'occurs here and there in Attic Greek, from which it is sometimes removed by correction: it is common in later Greek'. This, if right, is a solitary instance in Thucydides. Perhaps *πρὶν δή*, which is common, or *πρὶν οἱ* should be read. For *πρίν* with the indicative, in the sense of 'until', referring to a definite past action, see i. 51, 1: ii. 65, 2, etc. It generally follows a negative (Goodwin § 634).

8. **ἔτι γάρ**—ch. 58, 5. **πρεσβευτοῦ παρόντος**—'being there in the capacity of envoy'; and no longer holding a military command. Stahl proposes *παριόντος* 'coming forward' to speak, but this is no improvement. The statement that Alcibiades was the representative of Athens implies that he was spokesman.

10. **ἔν τε τοῖς** = *ἐν τοῖς τε*. Classen considers **ταῦτα** unsatisfactory and reads *ταὐτά*, believing that separate assemblies

were held, which is also suggested by *τε* and *καί*. Most authorities suppose that the allies were merely present in the Argive assembly.

11. **οὐκ ὀρθῶς αἱ σπονδαί**—the influence of the 'wrongful truce', which stands first in order, is felt throughout the sentence, though the wording is modified in the second part. **ἄνευ**—so ch. 60, 28: iv. 78, 3, *ἄνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ*.

12. **καὶ γένοιντο**—probably *καί*, in the sense of 'both' connects this with **καὶ νῦν κ.τ.λ.**, the conjunctions coupling the two points on which the Athenians insist, the wrong already done them by the treaty, and the present obligation of immediate action. *καί* is then irregularly placed, as noted on ch. 16, 15, and stands where it does to emphasize the antithesis. Krüger however holds that *καί* simply emphasizes *γένοιντο*, the sense being that 'even the making of the truce was a wrong'.

ib. **καὶ νῦν...χρῆναι**—the construction with *ὅτι* is now dropped, as in i. 87, 4, *ἔλεγον ὅτι δοκοῖεν...βούλεσθαι δέ*. **ἅπτεσθαι**—viii. 92, 1, *ἥπτοντο τῶν πραγμάτων*: so i. 49 fin. *ἔργου εἴχετο*.

14. **πείσαντες**—the subject at first is the Athenians alone, then by apposition it expands into **πάντες**: cf. iv. 69, 1, *γνόντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοί...ἡ στρατία...ἀπεσταύρουν*: so in iv. 108, 3, *εἰωθότες οἱ ἄνθρωποι*, where certain particular colonists are the original subject of the sentence.

ib. **ἐκ τῶν λόγων**—F. compares two instances of *ἐκ* with *πείθω*, to denote the ground of persuasion; vii. 48, 3, *ἐκ τούτων αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι*: viii. 47, 1, *πεῖσαι ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου*. Otherwise the meaning might be 'after the conference'; see also ch. 113, 1.

15. **τὸν Ἀρκαδικόν**—as distinguished from Orchomenos in Boeotia, iii. 87, 4. **ὅμως καὶ πεισθέντες**—though convinced they still hung back: Krüger compares Soph. *Oed. Col.* 666, *ὅμως δὲ κἀμοῦ μὴ παρόντος...τοὐμὸν φυλάξει σ' ὄνομα*.

18. **προσκαθεζόμενοι**—the accusative construction is found with this word in i. 26, 5: i. 61, 2. The same participle occurs also in i. 11, 4: i. 126, 4: i. 134, 2; in each case with some tense of *πολιορκεῖν* or with a similar word. The form is aorist; see Veitch's *Irregular Greek Verbs*.

20. **ἄλλως τε...καὶ ἦσαν**—Poppo says 'noli ὅτι expecta ', and compares i. 110, 2, *τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τε τοῦ ἕλους οὐκ*

ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν, καὶ ἅμα μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἕλειοι: vii. 47, 2, τῆς τε ὥρας ταύτης οὔσης...καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἅμα ἑλῶδες ἦν: so Tac. *Hist.* i. 76, penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio, *sed erat* grande momentum in nomine urbis. **προσγενέσθαι**—ch. 32, 11.

22. **κείμενοι**—here and in vi. 61, 3, **κεῖμαι** does duty as the perfect passive of *κατατίθεσθαι*, the regular word for bestowing hostages. **δείσαντες**—see note on *δεδιώς*, ch. 8, 5. **πλῆθος** refers to the (small) force in Orchomenos; so iv. 10, 4, *ἀντιπάλους τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλήθει.*

24. **μὴ προαπόλωνται**—sc. before help arrived. The subjunctive depends on *δείσαντες* by a modification of construction. The clause with **ὡς** gives the reason of their alarm, 'as they saw no prospect of succour'.

25. **ὥστε**—iv. 46, 2, *ξυνέβησαν ὥστε παραδοῦναι.* **Μαντινεῦσι**—'the Mantineans, as the most powerful of the Arcadian allies, are given the charge of these Arcadian hostages' (F).

CHAPTER LXII

3. **ἐφ' ὅ τι χρή**—Classen collects instances to show that *χρή* is regularly thus used in reporting deliberation; e.g. i. 40, 5, *ἐψηφισμένων εἰ χρὴ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν*: see ch. 63, 10. **ἐκέλευον**—*ἰέναι* is omitted, as with *ἐψηφίσαντο* infr.

6. **προσέθεντο**—vi. 50, 1, *προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ*: so absolutely 'to vote' i. 20, 4, *μιᾷ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι.*

11. **Τεγεατῶν**—Classen follows Stahl in reading *τῶν* for (*Τεγεα*)*τῶν*, believing that the reading came from *Τεγέα*, a gloss on *πόλει*. **ἐνεδίδοσαν**—the imperfect denotes *intention* or *arrangement;* so iv. 76, 2, *Χαιρώνειαν ἄλλοι ἐνεδίδοσαν.* For the uses of *ἐνδοῦναι* see note on iv. 66, 2.

CHAPTER LXIII

1. **Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ**—see ch. 60, 12 and 25. This first sentence deals in a parenthetical way with the state of feel-

ing in Sparta before Orchomenos fell. **ἐξ Ἄργους**—from the neighbourhood or district of Argos; the converse of the use of *ἐν* noted on ch. 55, 2. **χειρωσάμενον σφίσιν**—so iv. 28, fin.

4. **παρασχὸν καλῶς**—ch. 60, 29: cf. 14, 14. This phrase would naturally be answered by *ὡς οὔπω πρότερον*, sc. *παρέσχεν*. Here however we have *ὡς...ἐνόμιζον*, sc. *παρασχεῖν*. The construction is somewhat harsh, and Krüger brackets *αὐτοὶ ἐνόμιζον*. It is also suggested to insert *ὡς* before *αὐτοί*. Note that **οὔπω πρότερον** with a relative occurs twice in this chapter, and in 64, 7.

7. **λαβεῖν**—'to get' or 'find', with *ἀθρόους*: like Hdt. i. 116, *τὸν βουκόλον μόνον λαβών*. Classen compares ch. 102, 2, and vi. 86, 3, *ὅταν καιρὸν λάβωσι*, but these instances are not analogous.

ib. **ἠγγέλλετο**—the imperfects in this sentence are to be noticed, 'when news of the capture of Orchomenos went on to arrive', etc. For the explanatory infinitive **ἑαλωκέναι** cf. i. 50, 1, *πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν*: see Krüger's *Grammar* § 61. 6, 8.

9. **ἐβούλευον**—for this use of the active where we might expect the middle, see note on iv. 15, 1. **παρὰ τὸν τρόπον**—they were usually slow and deliberate; see i. 132, 5, *χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ, ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου βουλεῦσαί τι ἀνήκεστον*.

11. **δέκα μυριάσι**—'about £6700, supposing the sum to be given in Aeginetan drachmae' (Jowett). For the dative cf. ii. 65, 2, *ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασι*: so *φυγῇ*, iv. 65, 3.

12. **ῥύσεσθαι**—'atone for' or 'do away with' is the sense required, and the scholiast explains *ῥύσεσθαι* by *ἀπολύσειν*. It is suggested that it may have been the actual expression used by Agis. *ῥύομαι* in Homer and Herodotus means to set free or redeem, e.g. from slavery, and the idea of *retrieving* a fault might thus come in. Poppo says that the word is found in later historians such as Diodorus and Herodian. Dobree proposed *λύσεσθαι*, comparing *ἀπελύσαντο*, ch. 75, 13, and similar phrases.

13. **στρατευσάμενος**—'when he had taken the field' i.e. if again placed at the head of an army. The best manuscripts have *στρατευσόμενος*, and some editors read *στρατευόμενος*. **ἢ** = 'or else'; i. 78, 3, etc.

ib. **ποιεῖν**—'let them do', dependent on the sense (= *ἐκέλευε*) supplied from *παρῃτεῖτο*, or simply representing the direct

imperative: so iv. 50, 3, *πέμψαι*, 'they must send', appended to the account of a letter. The construction of the infinitive in treaties and laws is similar, *e.g.* **εἶναι** line 18.

15. **ἐπέσχον**—ch. 32, 28. **ἐν τῷ παρόντι**—we are not told how long the law remained in force, or if it applied to other commanders besides Agis. No further mention is made of such *ξύμβουλοι*, and Agis himself, when in command of the troops at Decelea, is found acting with full authority and independently of the home government: see especially viii. 5, 3; also ch. 66, 12.

17. **ξυμβούλους**—such commissioners are mentioned in ii. 85, 1: iii. 69, 1, and 76, 1, as appointed to assist Spartan naval commanders; and Plutarch (*Per.* c. 22) speaks of *ξύμβουλοι* being sent with the young Pleistoanax when he invaded Attica in 445. The idea therefore was not altogether new.

18. **εἶναι**—for the relative and infinitive in the report of a decree, cf. ii. 24, fin. *ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ*: so Dem. *Lept.* 505, § 158, *ἔθηκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεῖναι ἀποκτιννύναι* (Goodwin § 756). **ἀπάγειν**—i.e. he was not to begin any operations. As *ἀπάγειν* is generally used not of marching out from home (*ἐξάγειν*) but of withdrawing troops from an enemy's land, there is something to be said for Haase's conjecture *ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας* for **ἐκ τῆς πόλεως**. Can the last words be merely an explanatory gloss?

CHAPTER LXIV

The Spartans now hear of the danger of Tegea, and realize at length that the leadership of Peloponnesus is at stake. They accordingly act with unusual promptitude and vigour.

8. **Ὀρέσθειον**—this town gave name to the district of Oresthis; iv. 134, 1; where see note. Pausanias speaks of a founder Orestheus, but Eur. *Or.* 1647 gives *Ὀρέστειον* from Orestes. **τῆς Μαιναλίας**—w. of Tegea and N.W. of Sparta.

9. **τοῖς μὲν Ἀρκάδων**—Krüger collects instances of this position of the partitive genitive in his note on i. 126, 5, *οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν*: so iv. 111, 2, *οἱ τῶν Τορωναίων ἔνδοθεν παρασκευάζοντες.*

10. **ἀθροισθεῖσι**—as this is closely connected with the infinitive **ἰέναι**, we should expect the accusative; but the practice of Thucydides is not invariable. Thus in vii. 20, 1, *ᾧ εἴρητο... ἀφικομένῳ παρακαλεῖν* is followed by *εἴρητο δ' αὐτῷ περιπλέοντα ξυστρατεύεσθαι*: cf. i. 31, 2, *ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι*. In iv. 5, 1, *ὁρμὴ ἐσέπεσε περιστᾶσιν ἐκτειχίσαι*, the connexion of the dative is ambiguous.

ib. **κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν**—'to follow them closely'; iv. 126 fin. For *αὐτῶν* referring to the primary subject, see ch. 32, 26, note.

14. **τὸ πρεσβύτερον**—=*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*: cf. i. 105, 5, *οἵ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι*: ii. 13, 7, *τοσοῦτοι ἐφύλασσον ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ νεωτάτων*. Spartans were liable to serve abroad in emergency up to the age of 60, but in Athens men over 40 were usually exempt. See Müller's *Dorians*, Bk. iii. ch. 12.

20. **τοῖς μέν**—answered by the clause **Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ κ.τ.λ.** **ἐξ ὀλίγου**—'at short notice'; iv. 108, 5: ii. 11, 3, *ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολέμων γίγνεται*. The subject of **ἐγίγνετο**, 'it came', is implied in the context, as is common with *εἰμί* and *γίγνομαι* and with passives; see Krüger's *Grammar*, § 61. 5, 6.

21. **μὴ ἀθρόοις**—'unless they waited for one another and came all together' (Jowett). Poppo notices the combination of an adjective and a participle: so iii. 69, 1, *χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ σποράδες*.

22. **τὴν πολεμίαν**—the districts north of Tegea generally, which either belonged to Argos or had joined the confederacy.

ib. **ξυνέκλῃε**—the object is implied in the context. The meaning is 'it blocked their way' or 'closed them in': further explained by **διὰ μέσου**, which denotes an 'intervening' obstacle: cf. Hdt. i. 104, *ἓν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστί*, i.e. between Media and Colchis, the countries spoken of. Krüger takes *ξυνέκλῃε* in a quasi-intransitive sense as in ch. 72, 9, 'it closed in', i.e. was continuous. The scholiast explains it by *ἀπέκλειε*.

23. **ἀναλαβόντες**—ch. 7, 10. **πρὸς τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ**—on the road from Tegea to Mantinea. Grote says 'the Lacedaemonian kings appear to have felt a sense of protection in encamping near a temple of Heracles, their heroic progenitor (see Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, 31)'.

CHAPTER LXV

2. **καταλαβόντες**—ch. 4, 15. The **χωρίον ἐρυμνόν** is said by Curtius to be the southern point of Alesium, a position of importance to Mantinea.

7. **σφᾶς**—see note on iv. 36, 1, *ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς.* **κακὸν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι**—Classen compares Hdt. iii. 53, *μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ*: Soph. *Aj.* 362, *μὴ κακὸν κακῷ διδοὺς ἄκος πλέον τὸ πῆμα τῆς ἄτης τίθει*: Plat. *Protag.* 340 D, *ἰώμενος μεῖζον τὸ νόσημα ποιῶ.*

8. **δηλῶν**—'meaning that his present ill-timed forwardness was intended to retrieve the discredit incurred by his withdrawal from Argos'. *δηλῶν* here has the regular participial construction. For the infinitive see iv. 38, 1, *δηλοῦντες προσίεσθαι.*

9. **ἐπαιτίου**—'culpable'; more commonly used of persons who deserve or incur blame. **ἀνάληψιν**—lit. 'taking back' i.e. retrieval. The word only occurs here in Thucydides. The verb is sometimes used in this sense, e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 1249, *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀναλαβεῖν πειράσομαι.*

10. **βουλομένην**—agreeing with *ἀνάληψιν*: *βούλομαι* in this sense of 'meaning' or 'professing to be' is common in Plato and Aristotle; e.g. *Rep.* 595 C, *οὐδὲ ξυννοῶ τί βούλεται εἶναι.* *ἐθέλω* is similarly used. *τοῦτο φρονεῖ*, ch. 85, 6, is somewhat similar. Here Classen and Stahl read *βουλόμενον*, referring to Agis, the subject of *διανοεῖται.* The position of the word seems rather against the alteration.

11. **εἴτε καὶ...εἴτε καί**—so vi. 60, 2, *εἴτε ἄρα καὶ τὰ ὄντα μηνῦσαι εἴτε καὶ οὔ*: so *ὥσπερ καὶ... οὕτω καί* and the like. **εἴτε καί**—'or because he himself changed his decision'; **δόξαν** is accusative absolute, as in viii. 79, 1: viii. 93, 1. Here it is personally constructed, with *ἄλλο*, which is rare without *ὡς* or *ὥσπερ*: see note on *κυρωθὲν δ᾽ οὐδέν*, iv. 125, 1; and Goodwin § 854. The words **ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό** seem clumsy and unnecessary, but this is no proof that they are not genuine, and they are found in all the manuscripts. Stahl omits *ἢ* and refers *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό* to the same circumstance striking Agis and the veteran. *ἢ καὶ τὸ αὐτό* is another suggestion; while Dobree would omit the words altogether.

12. **ἐξαίφνης**—by some editors taken with *δόξαν*, by others with *ἀπῆγε*: the latter way seems to give a more forcible sense. It was the sudden change of tactics which surprised the Argives (line 23). **κατὰ τάχος** denotes the rapidity of the retreat.

14. **πρὸς τὴν Τεγεᾶτιν**—i.e. at the border.—**τὸ ὕδωρ**—the plain of Mantinea, which was high level ground enclosed by mountains, had no outlet but by subterranean channels, such as are not uncommon in a lime-stone country. It is fully described in Arnold's interesting note.

ib. **ἐξέτρεπεν**—the imperfect here denotes the beginning of the operation, a little below its continuance.

15. **τὰ πολλά**—'mostly'. This leaves **βλάπτοντος** without an object: Poppo therefore suggests omitting *τὰ*, when *πολλὰ βλάπτοντος* would mean 'doing great damage'. With **πολεμοῦσιν** we might expect *ἀεί* or some such phrase.

17. **τοὺς ἀπό**—with *καταβιβάσαι*: he wished to draw *from* the hill those who were *on* it; ch. 34, 1. **βοηθοῦντας ἐπί**—predicate, 'to (stop) the turning of the water'. The participle is not equivalent to the future, but is used as in iv. 25, 9, *κατέβαινον βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους*. The descent from the hill would be in itself the beginning of the *βοήθεια*.

19. **τοὺς Ἀργείους κ.τ.λ.**—modern editors are disposed to omit these words as a mere explanatory gloss. Poppo however on i. 144, 2, gives several instances of similar apposition. They can scarcely be all interpolations, and are more probably due to the writer's mannerism; see note on iv. 114, 4. **τὴν μάχην**—the impending engagement: so iii. 105, 4.

21. **μείνας**—the aorist gives an 'end-view' (Clyde). Here, in combination with the imperfect, it either means 'after halting'; or it regards the day's operations as ended, in which case **ἐξέτρεπεν** = 'had been diverting'.

23. **καταπλαγέντες**—'astounded'. **ἐξ ὀλίγου**—usually of time, as in ch. 64, 20: ch. 72, 1. If this be the meaning here, **αἰφνιδίῳ**, which is absent from one manuscript, should be omitted as an explanatory gloss. *ἐξ ὀλίγου* however is used of space ii. 91, 3, *πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν*, and may be so understood here. It will then correspond to *μέχρι μὲν λίθου κ.τ.λ.* line 5, while *αἰφνιδίῳ* answers to *ἐξαίφνης* and *κατὰ τάχος* in line 12.

24. **αὐτῶν**—the position of this word between *τῇ* and *ἀναχωρήσει* seems due to the intervening words; so iv. 55, 3, *παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδέαν*: see note on ch. 10, 48.

ib. **οὐκ εἶχον ὅ τι εἰκάσωσιν**—so ii. 52, 3, *οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται*. The deliberative subjunctive after a past tense, is a direct and vivid form of expression. **εἶτα** (without *δέ*) answers to *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον*. Krüger suggested *ἔπειτα* as more in accordance with Thucydidean usage, e.g. viii. 67, 2.

25. **ἐπειδή**—note the tenses and the order of the words: **ἀναχωροῦντες** affects the whole sentence, though agreeing with *ἐκεῖνοι* only. 'Then, when the retreat went on, and the Spartans disappeared, while they found themselves standing still and no pursuit attempted'.

25. **ἀπέκρυψαν**—'disappeared', apparently a neuter usage, *ἑαυτούς* being understood. This is the scholiast's explanation, and it is supported by Hes. *Fr.* 41, *ἀποκρύπτουσι Πελειάδες*, quoted by Lid. and Scott. This view is simpler than to understand *αὐτούς* or *Ἀργείους*, on the analogy of the nautical use found Plat. *Protag.* 338 A, *ἀποκρύψαντα γῆν* 'losing sight of land': Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 2. 38, *ἀπεκρύψαμεν αὐτούς*: Verg. *Aen.* iii. 291, *Phaeacum abscondimus arces.*

Besides, the point is that the Argives lost sight of the Spartans, not that the Spartans lost sight of the Argives.

26. **σφεῖς**—i.e. *αὐτοί*: rarely used, as Poppo notes, except in *oratio obliqua*, or with *ὅτι* in mixed constructions like line 31. Here indeed this clause, like the two which conclude the sentence, seems to represent in a sort of half-direct way the actual thoughts or words of the troops.

27. **ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον**—ch. 60, 12 etc. Here the ground of blame follows with an accusative and aorist infinitive; cf. vii. 81, 1, *ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸν Γύλιππον εἶχον...ἀφεῖναι*. Then the construction alters to *ὅτι* with the indicative, giving to some extent, as Classen points out, the effect of direct speech. The converse change from *ὅτι* to the infinitive is much more common: see ch. 61, 12.

ib. **τό τε πρότερον**—see ch. 60. The sense is 'as formerly ...so now': see note on ch. 43, 15. For **καλῶς** cf. ch. 36, 21: so *ἐν καλῷ* ch. 59, 21 etc.

29. **ὅτι**—according to Krüger, 'because'; or else 'that'; depending on 'they complained'. In either case the irregular

transition to the present indicative has a striking and dramatic effect. **ἀποδιδράσκοντας**—a contemptuous word. **καθ' ἡσυχίαν**—ironical, 'quietly and comfortably'.

31. **ἐθορυβήθησαν**—'were bewildered' (Arnold); iii. 22, 6.

CHAPTER LXVI

1. **οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι**—answered by *οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. **ἣν περιτύχωσι**—*τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις* (schol.). **πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον**—see the end of ch. 64.

5. **δι' ὀλίγου** = *ἐξαίφνης*, according to the scholiast: but plainly used here of an interval of space, 'close at hand'; so ii. 89, 7 etc.: cf. iv. 14, 1, *διὰ βραχέος*.

7. **μάλιστα δή**—this abrupt beginning can scarcely be right, and some connecting word seems lost. *μάλιστα δέ* and *μάλιστα δὲ δή* are suggestions, but not satisfactory. Krüger proposes to connect the clause with what goes before, inserting *ὡς* before *ὁρῶσι* and putting a comma after *προεληλυθότας*. But, as Poppo says, 'coniectura et audacior est, et propter iteratum Lacedaemoniorum nomen displicet'. **ἐς ὃ ἐμέμνηντο**—apparently 'so far as they remembered'. The scholiast says *μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μνήμην*, but where does the subject come from? The whole sentence indeed seems doubtful.

8. **ἐξεπλάγησαν**—the natural meaning is 'were dismayed', but this does not agree with what follows. On the contrary it is the excellent discipline and rapid formation of the Spartans which are described. *ἐκπλήσσω* is used not only of fear but of any overpowering emotion, such as joy or love. The meaning here may be were 'excited', 'startled' from their usual slow and deliberate ways, so that they acted with unwonted vigour and alacrity (*εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς*). *ἔκπληξις* certainly has some such force in iv. 14, 3, *ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως*: nor is there any idea of fear in *καταπλαγέντες*, ch. 65, 23. By this view we get a satisfactory sense; and it is at any rate better than any of the suggested alterations, e.g. *ἐξεφάνησαν*, 'came out in their true colours': *ἐξηλλάγησαν*, 'were different from (surpassed) all others': *Λακεδαιμονίους...ἐξεπλάγησαν*, 'they (the Argives) were struck with admiration of the Lacedaemonians', and other desperate shifts. The passage seems however incomplete, and some words or lines may be missing.

9. **διά**—adverbially used with the genitive. The sense is either 'they had but short time to get ready', or 'they formed at once without delay'. **ὑπὸ σπουδῆς**—iii. 33, 4, *ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν*.

10. **τὸν ἑαυτῶν**—emphatic: so iv. 33, 2, *τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι*: iv. 55, 3, *παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδέαν τῆς παρασκευῆς*.

11. **ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου** iii. 55, 4, *ἃ ἕκαστοι ἐξηγεῖσθε τοῖς ξυμμάχοις*: iii. 93, 2, *ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενοι*. **ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντα ἄρχεται**—the passive *ἄρχομαι* is used of persons rather than things: *πάντα* may therefore have a personal meaning = 'all are under his orders', not 'everything is ordered'. Krüger suggests *πάντα ἄρχονται* 'they are entirely under his orders': and Dobree would read *ἀπ' ἐκείνου*, 'everything originates with him'.

We have seen (ch. 63 fin.) that Agis had been put under the restriction of a military council, while the Spartan kings generally were shackled in the exercise of their power. Thucydides therefore points out that they still had absolute authority on the field of battle.

13. **τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις**—acting as generals of division. This is not the place to discuss the Spartan military organization, which is a rather complicated subject. Arnold and Grote have long notes on the present passage, and the recognized authorities are cited by Classen. See also Müller's *Dorians* Bk. iii. ch. 12.

14. **φράζει**—'orders'; iii. 15, 1, *τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἔφραζον ἰέναι*. **τὸ δέον**—'what is to be done'; orders in general, before the battle begins. **πεντηκοντῆρσιν**—found also Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, 21: *πεντηκοστήρ* is another form.

17. **παραγγέλσεις** orders 'passed along' the line, as opposed to those given by herald or sound of trumpet: Xen. *Anab.* iv. 1, 5, *ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως*: cf. ch. 58, 18: 71, 21. **ταχεῖαι**—adjective with verb; iv. 126, 6, *τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ὀξεῖς ἐνδείκνυνται*: so with participle iv. 38, 3, *ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας* etc. **ἐπέρχονται**=traverse the line: Cobet proposes *περιέρχονται*.

18. **σχεδόν τι**—modifying *πᾶν*: iii. 68, 4, *σχεδὸν γάρ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν*: vii. 33, 2, *σχεδὸν γάρ τι πᾶσα*. **πλὴν ὀλίγου**—this of course is not to be taken literally, as far the largest part of the army consisted of private soldiers. The meaning

is that the system of command within command extended throughout all ranks, and was peculiar to the Spartan organization. 'In other Grecian armies orders were proclaimed to the troops in a loud voice by a herald, who received them personally from the general: each *taxis* or company had indeed its own taxiarch, but the latter did not receive his orders separately from the general, and seems to have had no personal responsibility for the execution of them by his soldiers' (Grote, ch. 56).

20. **τὸ ἐπιμελές**—'the charge of what is doing'; ch. 102, 4: see note on ch. 9, 14.

CHAPTER LXVII

1. **τότε δέ**—'on this occasion', apodosis to the *general* description just given. **κέρας εὐώνυμον**—predicate. The article is omitted, as in line 12, and often. **αὐτοῖς**—ch. 44, 7: see note on ch. 3, 24.

2. **Σκιρῖται**—originally the inhabitants of the rugged district of Sciritis, on the northern border of Laconia. **ἀεὶ ταύτην ...ἔχοντες**—this privilege is only recorded here, though the Sciritae always appear as a separate band. **ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν**—ii. 63, 2, *ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι*: Hdt. ii. 2, *ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν κέεσθαι*. Xen. *An.* ii. 4, 10, *αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν*. The preposition implies *rest on*, i.e. dependence, and so the phrase means 'by themselves', 'independently'.

4. **παρὰ δ' αὐτοῖς**—'by them stood'. *ἦσαν* is to be supplied rather than *καθίσταντο*: otherwise we should expect the accusative as in line 7. Poppo compares i. 48, 3, *τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι* (sc. *ἦσαν* or *ἐτάξαντο*). He adds however that *ἐν* as well as *ἐς* 'apud similia verba collocandi et considendi reperitur'.

5. **ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης**—the stock phrase for the 'Thraceward' regions seems here appropriated to Brasidas' Thracian troops; see ch. 35, 11 and 25. Otherwise we might adopt the correction *ἀπό* (ch. 35, 33) or *ἐκ*. **νεοδαμώδεις**—ch. 34, 8.

6. **αὐτοί**—'veri et proprii, qui discernuntur a superioribus hominibus, quos minus proprie Lacedaemonios nominaveris' (Poppo). **Ἡραιῆς**—from Heraea, in the valley of the Alpheus, near the borders of Triphylia. For **Μαινάλιοι** see ch. 64, 9.

9. **ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ**—'The Tegeatae claimed an honourable post in the Peloponnesian armies, from their services in the times of the invasion by the Heracleidae: see Hdt. ix. 26. But, to save the sovereign dignity of the Lacedaemonians, the most honourable post of all, the extreme right wing, was held by Lacedaemonian soldiers. A similar compliment was paid to the Athenians by the Acarnanians and their confederates at the battle of Olpae; iii. 107, 7' (Arnold).

10. **ἱππῆς**—in 424 the Spartans set up a force of 400 horse *παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός* (iv. 55, 1). The cavalry was usually placed on the wings.

12. **οἱ ἐναντίοι**—appositionally resolved in the following clauses: i. 89 fin. *οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ...ὀλίγαι δέ.* Krüger brackets the following **αὐτοῖς**, as not supported by Thucydidean usage. Note the omission of the article with **δεξιὸν κέρας**.

13. **τὸ ἔργον**—'the action'; iv. 34, 3 etc. **παρὰ δ' αὐτούς**—here, with *ἦσαν*, we might expect *αὐτοῖς*, as *παρά* with the accusative has the idea of motion to or extent along: cf. however vi. 57, 3, *περιέτυχον τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ παρὰ (περί?) τὸ Λεωκόριον*: Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, 9, *παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμίς.* Or we may say that previous motion is implied, as in iii. 3, 4, *τριήρεις αἳ ἔτυχον παρὰ σφᾶς παροῦσαι*: *παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξιν κατακείμενος* (Ar. *Ach.* 72) is 'extended along'. Krüger suggests omitting *ἦσαν*. **Ἀρκάδων** is partitive genitive, as in line 7: cf. ch. 37, 25.

15. **λογάδες, οἷς ἡ πόλις**—a regular force, selected from the wealthier classes, and strongly aristocratic in feeling. After this they helped the Spartans to overthrow the democratic constitution: see Arnold. **ἐκ πολλοῦ**—'from some time back'; i.e. they were kept in regular training: so ch. 69, 21.

18. **Κλεωναῖοι**—Cleone and Orneae lay northwards of Argolis, in the direction of Corinth. The inhabitants appear to have been at this time subject allies, and to have been afterwards absorbed by Argos. The authorities are fully discussed in Arnold.

20. **οἱ οἰκεῖοι**—the Argives had no cavalry force; ch. 15, 18.

CHAPTER LXVIII

1. **ἥδε** usually 'as follows'; we should expect *αὕτη*: so *τοιάδε* is 'as follows', *τοιαῦτα* 'as aforesaid', but the practice is not invariable.

ib. **παρασκευή**—'force'; in reference to the several contingents on either side. **τάξις** is their respective disposition in the opposing lines.

2. **μεῖζον ἐφάνη**—'looked bigger', i.e., as Classen says, its superiority struck the eye: so i. 8, 1, Κᾶρες *ἐφάνησαν*, 'proved (were seen to be) Carians'.

4. **ἑκατέρων** may depend either on *ἀριθμόν* or *ἑκάστους*: I think the latter. **ξύμπαντας**—governed by *γράψαι* and standing in apposition to *ἀριθμόν*, instead of being governed by it.

ib. **οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην** -sc. *εἰ ἐπεχείρουν* or *εἰ ἐβουλόμην*: 'unfulfilled condition'. Classen considers this construction here inadmissible, and follows Stahl in reading *οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην*, which is free from difficulty, but not necessarily what Thucydides wrote. Krüger points out that *ἐδυνάμην* without *ἄν* might give a statement of actual fact; cf. *ξυνέγραψε*, i. 1, 1.

7. **ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα πλήθη**—Krüger and others suspect *πλήθη*, and render *ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα* 'in respect of their own affairs' (generally). Whether *πλήθη* be retained or not *τὸ πλῆθος* is supplied as subject to *ἠπιστεῖτο*. Classen however reads *ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα*, **τὰ** *πλήθη*, 'the several estimates of number were distrusted'. Note the *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* (Ar. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 9) **ἠγνοεῖτο...ἠπιστεῖτο.**

9. **παραγενόμενον**—'brought into the field'. So in the orators *οἱ παρόντες* are literally 'the (witnesses) present', *οἱ παραγενόμενοι* 'those called in'. **γάρ** ushers in the promised statement.

14. **ζυγῷ**—'rank'. Liddell and Scott give no other instance of this use in classical Greek.

ib. **ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος...ὀκτώ**—this statement is puzzling and is discussed at length by Grote and others. It may mean, as Jowett suggests, that in some cases one part of the line was deepened at the expense of another, and the rear rank of one

ἐνωμοτία posted behind another. Or possibly the ranks behind the first did not invariably contain four men. Thus an arrangement of 4, 3, 4 etc. would give 9 rows amounting to 32 men in all. But we must remember that Thucydides is not so much discussing the order of the Spartan soldiers, as furnishing an estimate of their numbers. He 'could not do this exactly', but he guarantees three things, the number of ἐνωμοτίαι, viz. 112; the number of men, 448, in the front rank; and the average (ἐπὶ πᾶν) depth, viz. 8. Now, if the number of men in each ἐνωμοτία was the same, we have not merely an approximate calculation, but an exact one, the very thing which Thucydides disclaims. May it not then have been the case that, in one or more of the λόχοι, the ἐνωμοτίαι consisted of a number more or less than the standard 32? This would be a part of the 'system of secrecy' (τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν); and if it was privately managed by the military authorities we can see at once how the total number was 'kept dark' (ἠγνοεῖτο). According to the text this arrangement was left to the respective λοχαγοί; but it may be that the clause ἀλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο is spurious, as Dobree suspected. The ἐνωμοτία or 'section', which was 'the unit of the Spartan army', undoubtedly varied in size at different periods; and may possibly have varied in different λόχοι or 'regiments' at the same period.

This explanation seems not unreasonable; for if Thucydides had been sure of the number of men in each ἐνωμοτία, why did he not state it, instead of only giving the number in the front rank?

16. **ἐπὶ πᾶν**—'generally'; ii. 51, 1, τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ἰδέαν (several examples in Krüger). **ἐπὶ ὀκτώ**—'eight deep'. In this sense ἐπί takes either the genitive or accusative: vii. 79, 1, οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων ἀσπίδων, 'in a deep column': iv. 93, 4, ἐπ' ἀσπίδας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι ἐτάξαντο.

ib. **παρὰ ἅπαν**—'along the whole line'. A front of 448 men with an average depth of eight, 600 Sciritae being added, makes the Lacedaemonian division 4184 strong. **ἦν**—Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 1, 25, ἡ τάξις ἦν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες: Prop. v. 1, 14, centum illi in prato saepe senatus erat.

CHAPTER LXIX

2. **παραινέσεις**—the usual addresses which Greek soldiers expected before an engagement: cf. iv. 95, 1, *δι' ὀλίγου ἡ παραίνεσις γίγνεται*: iv. 93, 1, *τοιαῦτα παραινέσας*. *παρακέλευσις* and *παρακελεύεσθαι* are used in the same way.

5. **καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἅμα**—'and withal for empire or subjection'. The following explanatory infinitives are connected with *ἡ μάχη ἔσται*, as in ii. 89, 10, *ὁ ἀγὼν μέγας ἢ καταλῦσαι...ἢ καταστῆσαι*.

ib. **πειρασαμένοις**—'after once enjoying it', i.e. after once gaining the position of a sovereign state; see ch. 29. The alternative was sinking again into political subordination to Sparta. For the dative we might expect *πειρασαμένους*: but see note on ch. 64, 10.

7. **'Αργείοις δέ**—sc. *παραίνεσις ἐγίγνετο*: the construction with *ὑπέρ*, and the following infinitives, being connected with this rather than with *ἡ μάχη ἔσται*. **τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις...εἶναι**, line 11, depends on the same.

ib. **τῆς παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας**—under the Atreidae. The claim of **ἰσομοιρία** was made in the days of the Persian invasion: see Hdt. vii. 148, where the Argives were willing to join Sparta, *ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης· καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἑωυτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσιν ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι*.

8. **διὰ παντός**—'always': iv. 61, 4, *πέφυκε τὸ ἀνθρώπειον διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν τοῦ εἴκοντος*: so i. 38, 1. **ἀστυγείτονας**—cf. iv. 92, 3, *'Αθηναίους δὲ καὶ προσέτι ὁμόρους ὄντας πολλῷ μάλιστα (ἀμύνεσθαι) δεῖ*: vi. 88, 1, *τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ ὅμορον διάφοροι*. The aorist **ἀμύνασθαι** implies 'once for all', that is, in the coming battle.

13. **καὶ ὅτι**—The sentence now takes a sort of semi-direct form of expression. **ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ**—thus turning the tables on the Spartans; hitherto the Athenians had only attacked the enemy's coast.

15. **οὐ μή**—this strong negative occurs only in one other passage, iv. 95, 2, where Hippocrates addresses the Athenians in

much the same words; ἢν νικήσωμεν οὐ μή ποτε ὑμῖν Πελοποννήσιοι ἐς τὴν χώραν...ἐσβάλωσιν. There is the same ethical dative in both sentences, **αὐτοῖς** = 'they would have them'.

18. **καθ' ἑκάστους**—usually taken of the Lacedaemonian soldiers exhorting one another 'man by man'. Herbst and Classen however seem right in understanding the plural, as in ch. 68, 4, rather of the 'several contingents' of the army, who are all included under the name of Lacedaemonians, as they are in the beginning of the next chapter. The main construction of the sentence belongs to the divisions with τε and καί alike, while **μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων** is specially connected with **ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς**, the Lacedaemonians themselves.

ib. **πολεμικῶν νόμων**—war-songs, according to the scholiast; τὰ ᾄσματα ἅπερ ᾖδον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι. Krüger however takes the meaning to be 'military usages', on the ground that the war-songs would not come in till the actual onset.

19. **ὧν ἠπίσταντο κ.τ.λ.**—'called on their trusty comrades to remember what they knew so well' = παρεκελεύοντο μεμνῆσθαι. **ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν** is taken by Poppo and others as agreeing with σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. It seems however rather governed by τὴν παρακέλευσιν ἐποιοῦντο: and is a sort of semi-quotation, representing παρακελευόμεθα ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν.

Some editors however find a difficulty in the words, and sundry unsatisfactory suggestions and emendations are noted in Classen and Fowler.

Arnold compares with the present passage iv. 95, 1, ἡ παραίνεσις...πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας...ὑπόμνησιν μᾶλλον ἔχει ἢ ἐπικέλευσιν: so vi. 68, 1, τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀξίας μνησθέντες ἐπέλθετε τοῖς ἐναντίοις.

20. **εἰδότες ἔργων...παραίνεσιν**—note the triple antithesis in this sentence. For **ἐκ πολλοῦ** cf. ch. 67, 15.

CHAPTER LXX

2. **ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι**—construction in accordance with the sense (πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον): cf. iv. 23, 2, τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἐπολεμεῖτο, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν κ.τ.λ. Poppo adds Tac. *Hist.* i. 19, patrum favor aderat, multi etc.

3. **ἐντόνως**—only here in Thucydides, who does not use the adjective at all: Xen. *Anab.* vii. 5, 7, *ἐντόνως ἀπῄτει τὸν μισθόν.* **ὀργῇ**—vii. 68, 1, *ὀργῇ προσμίξωμεν.* Jowett renders 'with great fury and determination'.

4. **ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν**—'to the accompaniment of many flute-players stationed in the ranks according to custom': cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2, 23, *τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων*: see also Liddell and Scott for the general use of the preposition to denote anything *attendant.* For **νόμῳ** the best manuscripts have **νόμου**, and two have **ὁμοῦ**. *νόμου* may be retained in the sense of *tune* (see ch. 68, 18) as governed by *ὑπό*: but *ἐγκαθεστώτων* would thus stand rather awkwardly by itself. Arnold cites Hdt. vi. 60, to show that the flute-players were a separate caste in Sparta as they were in Egypt.

5. **οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν**—the editors quote A. Gellius i. 2, 1, non prorsus ex aliquo ritu religionum neque rei divinae gratia. **ὅπερ φιλεῖ**—iv. 125, 1, *ὅπερ φιλεῖ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα...ἐκπλήγνυσθαι.* Classen points out (i. 78, 2) that Thucydides always uses *φιλεῖν* in this sense, in which it occurs more than a dozen times. He adds that it is only used once by Herodotus (v. 5) in the sense of loving, elsewhere of being wont, as here. For **ποιεῖν** we might expect *πάσχειν*: so in line 2 of the next chapter. Poppo cites (from Duker) Ar. *Plut.* 1204, *πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χυτρῶν τἀναντία αὗται ποιοῦσι.*

CHAPTER LXXI

1. **τοιόνδε**—the explanation is given in line 16, *δείσας δὲ Ἆγις*, the construction beginning afresh with *καὶ τότε* after the parenthetical introduction. Otherwise the words would run *τοιόνδε ἐβουλεύσατο δρᾶσαι· δείσας μὴ κ.τ.λ.* We have a similar sentence in iv. 67, 2, *οἱ προδιδόντες τοιόνδε ἐποίησαν· ἀκάτιον... εἰώθεσαν κατακομίζειν·...καὶ τότε*: cf. vi. 88, 1, *οἱ Καμαριναῖοι ἐπεπόνθεσαν τοιόνδε· τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις εὔνοι ἦσαν.* So Hdt. i. 80, *ἐποίησε τοιόνδε· ὅσαι κ.τ.λ.*: cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 4, 31, *τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων· ἀπεῖχον·* Other instances of 'asyndeton' are cited by Kühner on Xen. *Anab.* iv. 7, 10, *μηχανᾶταί τι· προέτρεχεν κ.τ.λ.*

2. **ἐβουλεύσατο**—'decided'; ii. 74, 1: iv. 57, 4. Sudden change of purpose at a crisis was characteristic of Agis; see ch. 60 and 65.

ib. **ποιεῖ μέν**—this would be regularly answered by *τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς*, but the construction is dropped. **καὶ ἅπαντα**—'all without exception do this'; iv. 23, 3, *τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἅπασαι περιώρμουν*. **τοῦτο**—explained by what follows without a connecting word: so vi. 36, 2, *αἱ ἀγγελίαι τοῦτο δύνανται· οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου...ξύγκεινται*: cf. ii. 36, 4, *ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε...ἀφίεσθε*: vi. 11, 4, *ὅπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς πεπόνθατε...ἐφίεσθε*: Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 3, 4, *οὕτω πως ἐποίησε...δίδωσι*: cf. note on line 1.

3. **αὐτῶν**—the position of *αὐτῶν* is due to the insertion of *δεξιόν*, otherwise *τὰ αὐτῶν κέρατα* is the regular order, as in line 24: cf. iv. 43, 3, *τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρᾳ ἑαυτῶν*.

As a general principle the genitive of a personal pronoun and *αὐτοῦ* stands after the substantive on which it depends, or before the article; while the genitive of reflexive and demonstrative pronouns follows the article. Thus we have *ἡ γλῶσσά σου, καλαὶ νῷν αἱ γυναῖκες, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ*: but *φύλαττε τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἐς κόσμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, ὁ τούτου πατήρ, ἡ ἀλλήλων δικαιοσύνη*. There are however instances where this usage is disregarded for the sake of emphasis or otherwise. Thus, *ἀνεπικούρητον σεαυτοῦ τὸν βίον λήσῃ ποιῶν*, where *σεαυτοῦ* has a force like that of an ethical dative. Again, with an additional word the position of *αὐτοῦ* may be changed, *γνώσεσθε τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ πονηρίαν*, an exact converse of the present passage: so iv. 55, 3, *παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδέαν*: cf. ch. 43, 14.

Full illustrations of all these usages may be found in Krüger's *Grammar* § 47, 9, 9—20: see also Madvig's *Greek Syntax*, § 10. It should be noticed that Krüger says that *αὐτοῦ* (*αὐτῶν*) when it means *ipsius* is placed next the article like *ἑαυτοῦ* etc. In such cases however *αὑτοῦ* is now generally read; see note on ch. 10, 48. These constructions are not to be confounded with the partitive genitive, such as *οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν* (iv. 43, 2).

ib. **ἐν ταῖς ξυνόδοις**—when closing with the enemy; iii. 107, 3, *ἐν τῇ ξυνόδῳ αὐτῇ*. **ἐξωθεῖται**—'thrust outwards' (Jowett) (mid.), or 'are forced out' of the proper line, which is thus unduly extended towards the right.

4. **περιΐσχουσι**—'extend beyond', 'overlap', or 'outflank'; iii. 107, 3, *περιέσχε τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδον* (nom.): with this verb may be joined a dative of the instrument; ib. fin. *περιέσχον τῷ κέρᾳ*, 'with their wing'. **κατά**—'opposite to'.

6. **προστέλλειν...τῇ...ἀσπίδι**—either (1) 'shelter *with*', or (2) 'move up *to*, the shield of the man next on the right'.

Liddell and Scott are in favour of (1); Poppo and Krüger of (2). Poppo cites Dio Cas. XL. 23, 3, *ταῖς τῶν παραστατῶν ἀσπίσι τὰς γυμνώσεις σφῶν προστέλλειν*, which is equally ambiguous. Classen reads *προσστέλλειν* in sense (2) maintaining that this form is required for the construction and meaning.

ib. **τὰ γυμνά**—as in ch. 10. 20, the right arm and side which were not covered by the shield. **καὶ νομίζειν**—'and because they think that this closeness of locking up gives the best shelter'. **εὐσκεπαστότατον** is probably neuter, in accordance with a common construction; it may possibly be feminine, as in ch. 110, 3: iii. 101, 2, *ταύτῃ δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς*. In iii. 89 (fin.) *βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν* is ambiguous. *εὐσκέπαστος* is found in Dio Cas. 49. 30, but not elsewhere in classical Greek: *σκεπάζω* is used by Xenophon; see *σκέπας*.

9. **ἡγεῖται τῆς αἰτίας**—lit. 'begins this fault', *αἰτία* being ground or cause of blame. **πρωτοστάτης**—as we say, 'the pivot-man': *οἱ πρωτοστάται* in Xen. are the front-rank men. **ἐξαλλάσσειν**—'to withdraw from the enemy'.

12. **γύμνωσιν**—this unusual word, which is active in form, may mean the side 'which he exposes' or 'finds himself exposing': or it may be simply a convenient singular, the plural *τὰ γυμνά* being elsewhere used. We use such words as enclosure in a similar passive way. It is copied by Dio, as cited above.

13. **καὶ τότε**—'and so now', resuming the particular description after a general digression; so iv. 67, 5: vii. 29, 4. *τότε δ' οὖν* is used somewhat in the same way.

ib. **περιέσχον...τῶν Σκιριτῶν**—'overlapped the Sciritae with their wing'. *περιέχω*, which elsewhere takes the accusative when it means to surround, is here constructed like *περιγίγνομαι*. The datives in line 6 and iii. 107 (fin.) seem decisive as to the construction. Haack however suggested *τὸ κέρας* and *τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*.

16. **δείσας...νομίσας**—the aorist implies a sudden thought, as in ch. 65. 12. **σφῶν**=*our*: iv. 9, 2, note. The position gives the word an emphatic force='lest he should have his left surrounded'.

19. **ἐσήμηνεν**—of military orders; ii. 84, 1, *πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ*: with infinitive in the general sense of directing, Hdt.

v. 35, *σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος.* The order given by Agis was 'extend away from us, and present an equal front to the Mantineans'. In **ἐπεξαγαγόντας**, *ἐπί* implies motion not towards the enemy, but to the new position required; while *ἐξ* denotes leaving their original post, or opening out the line: so of ships, vii. 52, 2, *ἐπεξαγαγόντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν*: viii. 104, 3, *ἀντεπεξῆγον: παυσάμενοι τῆς ἐπεξαγωγῆς.* All of these are flank movements to surround the enemy.

20. **ἐξισῶσαι** 'to present an equal front to the Mantineans'. *τὸ εὐώνυμον* may be the object: or *ἐξισῶσαι* may be quasi-intransitive, as in vi. 87, 5, *ἐξισώσαντες τοῖς ἄλλοις*, 'acting like the rest of the world', lit. 'making things (or the matter in hand) equal': cf. Soph. *El.* 1194, *μητρὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐξισοῖ.* Here *τὴν τάξιν*, or *ἑαυτούς*, or 'the state of things', would be implied.

We have seen (ch. 67, 1) that the Sciritae were entitled to the left, and 'among the Lacedaemonians especially ancient routine was more valued than elsewhere' (Grote). Hence it was impossible to order round a division from the extreme right to the extreme left, and apparently impracticable to move the whole line more to the left. We do not know the nature of the ground.

ib. **ἐς τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο**—put emphatically first, 'to fill up this gap': for the word cf. ch. 72. 16: iv. 135, 1. **παρήγγελλεν**—'consecutio verborum haec est: *παρήγγελλεν τῶν πολεμάρχων Ἱππονοίδᾳ καὶ Ἀριστοκλεῖ παρελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐς τὸ διάκενον τοῦτο ἔχουσι δύο λόχους.* Lochos autem duos duo polemarchi aut ideo adducere iussi sunt quod *lochi* Thucydidei *moris* Xenophonteis sunt similes, aut quod in graviore negotio vel tempore difficiliore etiam minores partes militum a maioribus ducibus adversus hostes ducendae videntur' (Poppo).

21. **τῶν πολεμάρχων**—partitive genitive depending immediately on the proper names; i. 24, 1, *Φάλιος* Κορίνθιος *τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους*: i. 126, 2, *Κύλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν πάλαι.* Aristocles may be the brother of king Pleistoanax mentioned ch. 16, 26. For the position of **ἔχουσι** Krüger compares iii. 26, 1, *δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν ἔχοντα Ἀλκίδαν.*

23. **ἐσβαλόντας**—'closing in', 'throwing (themselves) in', *ingressos;* an unusual sense of the word. **πληρῶσαι**—sc. *αὐτό.* **βεβαιότερον**—as the flank could not now be turned.

CHAPTER LXXII

1. **ἐξ ὀλίγου**—'at short notice'; ch. 64, 20: iv. 108, 5. **τόν τε**—answered by **καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους**, the clause ἀλλὰ καί... being parenthetical in sense, though conforming to the general construction after ξυνέβη. Arnold compares i. 95, 3, *ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαί τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους...μετατάξασθαι*, where *αὐτῷ* applies only to the first clause.

5. **δόξαντας**—'held guilty'; cf. the use of *videor*. Whether banishment was inflicted as a punishment, or punishment escaped by voluntary exile, is not clear. The latter view is the more probable: see Müller's *Dorians*, Bk. iii. ch. 11 § 4. Thus Xenophon's Clearchus was an exile, after having been condemned to death for disobedience to the military orders of the Ephors (*Anab.* ii. 6, 4).

ib. **φθάσαι τῇ προσμίξει**—'were beforehand in closing with them', i.e. before the line was restored to proper order. *προσμίξει* is a sort of instrumental dative. Krüger indeed considers the construction so unusual that he believes that the two words may be an explanatory gloss; their omission however would be fatal to the rhythm of the clause.

6. **καὶ κελεύσαντος**—'and when, on the lochi not coming up to the Sciritae, he gave the order (to the Sciritae), *close up again to us*, he found that (*ξυνέβη αὐτῷ*) they too were now unable to close in'. This is the explanation adopted by Poppo and is indeed the only one which the wording and sense permit; for *κελεύειν ἐπί* would not be an admissible construction. The position of *ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας* is no doubt awkward, but may be intended to show emphatically that *κελεύσαντος* refers to the Sciritae. Classen gives other instances of conjunctions placed like *ὡς* here, e.g. iv. 27, 1, *πυνθανόμενοι...σῖτος τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὅτι ἐσπλεῖ*. It is however tempting to suggest the omission of *ἐπί* (or the substitution of *ἔτι*), governing *τοὺς Σκιρίτας* directly by *κελεύσαντος*.

8. **ἔτι**—'now' or 'after this', i.e. there was now no time left. **μηδέ**—i.e. they as well as the *λόχοι* failed to fill up the gap. **τούτους**—the Sciritae, who were unable to regain their old position. It is altered into *τούτοις* by Classen, who unaccountably takes *λόχοι* as the subject of *προσμίξαι* and *ξυγκλῇσαι*, and understands *τούτοις* of Agis and his troops

(*σφίσι*). He supposes that the *λόχοι* had made an ineffectual attempt to reach the Sciritae and now failed to regain their position on the right. This however is quite contrary to Thucydides, who says plainly enough that the commanders of the *λόχοι* refused to move at all, and were therefore exiled for cowardice.

9. **ξυγκλῆσαι**—'to close in' or 'close up (the ranks)': virtually intransitive; as in iv. 35, 1: see ch. 64, 22.

ib. **μάλιστα δή**—cf. ch. 66, 7. The run of the words seems to show that this applies to the whole of the sentence, while **κατὰ πάντα** extends to *ἐλασσωθέντες* only, and **τότε** emphasizes the final clause. The sweeping expression **κατὰ πάντα** appears to point out the 'entire failure' of the movements which Agis had ordered; a failure which was redeemed by no less signal valour and steadiness in the actual encounter.

ib. **τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ**—skill in manœuvring in the field, in which both Agis and his subordinates proved deficient: cf. ii. 89, 2, *διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν*: iv. 33, 2, *τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι*. The dative with **ἐλασσωθέντες** means 'worsted' or rather 'proving inferior *in* skill'. F. compares Plat. *Alc.* i. 121 B, *ὅρα μὴ τῷ τε γένους ὄγκῳ ἐλαττώμεθα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ*, and Xen. *Hel.* vi. 2. 28, *μεγάλη ζημία ἦν τό τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι πᾶσι τούτοις*. There is therefore no reason for spoiling the sentence by adopting such corrections as *ἀπορίᾳ* or *ἀταξίᾳ*, or by omitting *ἐλασσωθέντες* with Madvig, who translates 'Lacedaemonii, qui semper arte, tum non minus virtute se praestare ostenderunt', a rendering which seems to introduce an idea foreign to the sense of the present passage.

The dative indeed seems naturally used with words denoting superiority or the opposite, and comparison generally; cf. vincere Caecilius gravitate Terentius arte (Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 58).

10. **τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ...περιγενόμενοι**—'proved their superiority in valour', or 'showed that they gained the victory by their valour': cf. iv. 73, 2, *ἔδειξαν ἑτοῖμοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι*. Poppo suggests *περιγιγνόμενοι* or *ἂν περιγιγνόμενοι* as having a general force, but the text seems to give a preferable sense.

11. **ἐπειδὴ γάρ**—*γάρ* brings in the expected account. For **ἐν χερσί** cf. ch. 10, 56. The phrase is found with *ὄντες*, iii. 108, 1: with *γενόμενοι* vii. 5, 2: but I have not found a parallel to the present dative construction.

12. **τὸ μέν**—like the resumptive **ταύτῃ μέν** below, answered by *τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ* = 'though...yet'. **αὐτῶν**—ch. 15, 5. For its position Classen compares i. 30, 3, *ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν*: see also ch. 71, 17.

15. **οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες**—see ch. 67, 15. The imperfect **διέφθειρον** 'inflicted loss' is used in combination with aorists, as in iii. 98, 2, to denote what was begun or what lasted some little time. **ἐξέωσαν**—'drove back' out of their line and position. **ἐπιτεταγμένων**—'posted in charge' or 'in reserve'; so *ἐπίτακτοι* vi. 67, 1.

23. **καλούμενοι**—Hdt. viii. 124, *τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἵπερ ἱππέες καλέονται.* They were the king's body-guard, and though called horsemen fought on foot. Arnold supposes that they were originally chiefs who fought round their king in chariots, 'this being the early sense of *ἱππεύς* and *ἱππότης*, as we find from Homer'. The actual cavalry were stationed on the wings as we learn from ch. 67.

24. **πέντε λόχοις ὠνομασμένοις**—nothing is known of these divisions. 'We can only suppose that Argos originally, like Sparta and Messenia, contained five districts or quarters, each of which sent its own lochus into the field' (Arnold). Poppo considers the *πέντε λόχοι* identical with the *πρεσβύτεροι*, from the absence of the article; but *πέντε λόχοι* may have the definite force of a proper name, or the second article may be omitted as it is before *ξυμμάχων* at the beginning of the next chapter. In ch. 67, 17, we have simply *οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀργεῖοι* mentioned besides the *χίλιοι λογάδες*.

26. **ἐς χεῖρας**—so iii. 108, 1, *ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι*: Xen. *An.* iv. 3, 31, *εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι.* **τοὺς πολλούς**—partial apposition, 'for the most part'. **ἔστιν οὕς** is a still further restriction.

29. **καταπατηθέντας**—i.e. by one another in their eager struggles to escape; as in vii. 84, 3, *ἐπέπιπτόν τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατεπάτουν.* This is explained by the following words, in which **τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν** is the subject of *μὴ φθῆναι*, and is equivalent to *τοὺς ἐγκαταλαμβάνοντας*, 'in order that the enemy might not overtake them before they could escape'. Haack and Poppo approve of this view of the passage, which is now generally accepted. *τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι* may depend on both the preceding clauses, or on *ἐνδόντας* only, the next clause being then parenthetical.

If this view is not adopted *τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν* must be taken as the object of *φθῆναι*, which necessitates giving an irregular

sense to τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι, '*because* they could not escape', or '*so that* they did not escape being overtaken'. Arnold suggests τῷ μή, dative of the efficient cause.

ib. **ἐγκατάληψις**—not found elsewhere in Thucydides, though ἐγκαταλαμβάνω occurs eight times. The compound implies a place, as in ch. 3, 8. In iv. 35, 2, we have ὅσοι ὑποχωροῦντες ἐγκατελαμβάνοντο ἀπέθνησκον, 'all who were overtaken, or seized, on the field (or *in* the retreat) were slain', an exact parallel to the present use of the substantive. For the use of the verbal see λῆψις ch. 110, 3.

CHAPTER LXXIII

2. **παρερρήγνυντο**—iv. 96, 4 τῶν Θηβαίων ἐφεπομένων καὶ παραρρηγνύντων: vi. 70, 2, παρερρήγνυτο ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα. The ranks were broken by the men being forced from *beside* their comrades. **καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα**—i.e., as Poppo explains, 'cum media acies cessisset, tum simul etiam ab utroque latere vicinos ordines dissolutos esse Thucydides indicare censendus est'. Krüger suggests τὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα, otherwise the subject is the Argive force generally. καὶ goes with ἑκάτερα, as in vi. 80, 1, with ἀμφοτέρων. Classen points out the force of the imperfects in denoting the moment of danger. He however refers this clause to the defeated centre; but it appears to have already broken and fled.

4. **τῷ περιέχοντι σφῶν**—cf. ch. 71, 13. **αὐτούς**—the Athenians generally. **περιειστήκει**—iii. 54 fin., φόβος περιέστη τὴν Σπάρτην: iv. 35, 3, etc.

6. **κυκλουμένους**='on the point of being hemmed in'; imperfect passive: so in vii. 81, 3, κυκλοῦται is passive, while ten lines before ἐκυκλοῦντο is transitive. **ἡσσημένους**—these were the παρατεταγμένοι, ch. 72, 26.

8. **ἐταλαιπώρησαν**—ch. 74, 13; as we say 'suffered' to denote actual loss. **οἱ ἱππῆς παρόντες**—the predicate is similarly used in iv. 44, 1, ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ ἱππῆς ὠφέλιμοι ξυμμαχόμενοι. παριόντες, which Classen suggests, is no improvement, for the cavalry were μετ' αὐτῶν (ch. 67, 20).

9. **καὶ ξυνέβη**—another 'concurrent circumstance' which saved the Athenians. **πονοῦν**—iv. 96, 4, *ἐπόνει τὸ εὐώνυμον.*

14. **ἐξέκλινεν**—only here in Thucydides: Xen. *Cyr.* i. 4, 23, *ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ φεύγουσι.* **τὸ ἡσσηθέν**—'which had been beaten': *ἡσσημένος*, as in line 7, denotes the resulting condition.

21. **καὶ πλείους**—if the text is right, *πλείους* is a *general* comparison, lit. more than might be expected, or more than their due proportion, i.e. a large number. In iv. 42, 3, and 103, 3 *ἐκ πλείονος* has a similar force. *καὶ* then emphasizes the serious loss of the Mantineans, contrasted with the slight loss of the Argives. Some inferior manuscripts have *οἱ πλείους*: but the total loss was only 200.

In iv. 44, 2, *οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον* means that their chief loss was at the point spoken of: so vii. 30, 2, *ἀποκτείνουσι ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει τοὺς πλείστους*, where the total loss was 250 out of 1300: but such an explanation will not suit the present passage.

22. **τὸ πολύ**—iv. 25, 8, *τῶν Λεοντίνων τὸ πολύ*: iv. 113, 1, *τὸ πολὺ ἐθορυβεῖτο.* **βίαιος**—'hard-pressed': iv. 31, fin., *εἰ καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιοτέρα*: ii. 33, 3, *βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι* of embarking under an enemy's attack. **μακρά**, like **ἐπὶ πολύ** below, of distance.

25. **τὰς μάχας...ποιοῦνται**—this sentence is an excellent example of article and substantive with *ποιεῖσθαι*: see note on iv. 13, 1. 'The Lacedaemonians fight long and refuse to move until they have put an enemy to flight, but, having once defeated him, they do not follow him far or long' (Jowett). **χρονίους**—so vi. 31, 5: but in i. 12, 1 the feminine is *χρονία.* **τῷ μένειν**—'by standing their ground'.

CHAPTER LXXIV

1. **καί**—we might expect *ἤ*, as in vii. 86, 5 *τοιαύτῃ ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτίᾳ*: but Arnold is right in comparing i. 22, 4, *τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια*: so i. 143, 3: vii. 15, 2, *παραπλήσιον καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον*: vii. 42, 2, *ἴσον καὶ παραπλήσιον.* *καί* has in fact a sort of corrective force='I mean', 'that is to say', as noted in ch. 20, 4. *ἤ* on the other hand, meaning 'or else', would imply some uncertainty as to the facts.

2. **πλείστου...δή**—see note on ch. 60, 16, for δή with the superlative. For the genitive of time 'within which', see ch. 14, 16: Plat. *Gorg.* 448 A, *οὐδείς με ἠρώτηκε καινὸν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἐτῶν.*

4. **ξυνελθοῦσα**—with *μάχη=commissa;* constructed with *ὑπό* as being virtually passive. Somewhat similar is i. 15, 2, *πόλεμος οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη*; cf. Hdt. vii. 144, *οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος συστάς.* Poppo quotes *μάχη συνῄει καρτερά* from Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xvii. 10 (12), 2.

5. **προθέμενοι**—apparently=*θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα πρό*, 'taking up their position before': see note on iv. 44, 1, *ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.* For constr. cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 1218, *πέπλον ὀμμάτων προθέσθαι.* A guard was posted, to oblige the enemy to ask leave to bury the dead, which was a confession of defeat; so *φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες* (iv. 97, 1). Krüger and others take it to mean 'displaying the arms of the dead', like ii. 34, 2, *τὰ ὀστᾶ προτίθενται*, but they cite no instances of such a practice.

6. **ἵστασαν**—Classen considers that the imperfect is used here because the trophy was not completed till the enemy owned his defeat. But *ἵστασαν* is used again in vi. 70, 3; and probably (like *ἐσκύλευον*) merely denotes what the victors 'went on to do' or 'began to do' next. The aorists which follow imply the completion of all that had to be done.

11. **Αἰγινήταις**—Athenian *ἔποικοι*, the inhabitants having been removed in 431 (ii. 27, 1). **ἀμφότεροι**—Laches and Nicostratus (ch. 61, 1).

13. **ἐταλαιπώρησαν**—ch. 73, 8. **καί**—emphatic: there may have been some loss, but it was not 'also' (besides occurring) worth taking into account: so iv. 48, 5, *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν ἑτέρων ὅ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον*: i. 15, 2, *πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη*: ii. 54, 5, *οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν ὅ τι ἄξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν.*

14. **ἀπογενέσθαι**—ii. 34, 1, *τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ἀπογενομένων*: ii. 51, 7, *τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων*: ii. 98, 2, of loss to an army generally, as opposed to *προσγίγνεσθαι*: Hdt. v. 4 *γινόμενος καὶ ἀπογινόμενος*, of births and death. **αὐτῶν**, according to Poppo, depends on *πυθέσθαι*, but the sense seems rather to connect it with some statement of number. It can scarcely depend on *ἀλήθειαν*, but it may be taken with *τριακοσίους*, the

clause with *μὲν* being thus subordinate in sense to that with *δέ*.

16. **περὶ τριακοσίους**—subject; so Xen. *Hell.* iv. 6, 11, *ἀπέθανον περὶ τριακοσίους*: prep. with object, Thuc. iv. 48, 1, *ἐς ἑξήκοντα ἔλαθον διαφθείραντες*: cf. vii. 30, 3.

CHAPTER LXXV

2. **τούς τε πρεσβυτέρους**—see ch. 64, 13. **ἐβοήθησε**—'had marched out'. Poppo refers to the law mentioned by Hdt. v. 75, *ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἕπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς*. That law appears rather to mean that the two kings were not to be in joint command of the same army. See however Stein on the passage from Herodotus, and the words which he cites from Xen. *Hell.* v. 3, 10. We there find that the Phliasians in 381 assumed that they were safe from attack on the part of Agesilaus, as the other king was in the field, *οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι*.

6. **τοὺς ἀπὸ Κορίνθου**—see ch. 64, 18. **ἀπέστρεψαν**—iv. 97, 2, *ὃς αὐτὸν ἀποστρέψας*. *ἀπέτρεψαν* was formerly read against MSS. authority: '*ἀποτρέπειν* magis notat *avertere, dehortari, dissuadere; ἀποστρέφειν* autem *retro convertere, iubere redire*' (Bauer, cited by Poppo).

9. **Κάρνεια**—ch. 54, 9. **ἐτύγχανον**—ch. 26, 15.

10. **τότε**—'at this time', i.e. since the capture of Sphacteria, as is shown by what follows. In iv. 40 we are told of the astonishment caused by the surrender at Sphacteria, while complaints of sluggishness and inaction on the part of Sparta had been made even before the war began, for instance in the speech of the Corinthians (i. 68—71). **ἐπιφερομένην**—cf. iii. 46 fin. *τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν*: so iii. 42, 3, *ἀδικίας ἐπιφερομένης*.

11. **ἐς**—'for, in respect of': viii. 88, 1, *ἐς φιλίαν διαβάλλειν*, where instances from Plutarch etc., may be found in Poppo. **τὴν ἄλλην**—ch. 60, 10: Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, 5, *οὐκ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον*.

13. **ἐνὶ ἔργῳ τούτῳ**—*οὗτος* thus used without the article has a predicative or appositional force; the sense being 'and thus by one victory they regained their reputation'.

14. **κακιζόμενοι**—*κακίζω*, 'to reproach', occurs in i. 105, 5, *κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*: ii. 22 fin. *ἐκάκιζον* (*τὸν Περικλέα*). Here therefore the meaning appears to be 'open to reproach'. Elsewhere, e.g. Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 214: Eur. *Ion*, 984, *κακίζομαι* means to act the coward, and this would give a good sense in the present passage, viz. that the late inaction and seeming cowardice of the Spartans were due to stress of circumstances, not to failure of spirit. A similar opposition between *τύχη* and *γνώμη* is attributed to the Peloponnesian commanders in ii. 87, 3, *δίκαιον νομίσαι ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ ἀνδρείους ὀρθῶς εἶναι.*

15. **προτέρᾳ**—Cobet would read *προτεραίᾳ*, but the editors generally retain *προτέρᾳ*, as *πρότερος* can be used of days, e.g. Hom. *Il.* xxi. 5, *ἤματι τῷ προτέρῳ*. In i. 44, 1, we have *τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ* answered by *ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*. For the following genitive cf. Hdt. v. 56, *ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων.*

17. **ὡς ἐρῆμον οὖσαν**—ch. 56, 21. **τῶν Ἀργείων**—dependent on *φύλακας*, **ἐξελθόντων** being added as a predicate, 'as they had gone out on foreign service'. *ἐξελθόντων* **αὐτῶν**, genitive absolute, is also read. Arnold refers *ἐξελθόντων* to *φύλακας*, whether *αὐτῶν* is read or not, rendering 'as they had ventured out to fight them'. *ἐξελθόντες* has this force in viii. 25, 2, but the meaning first given is the usual one, and makes the better sense. **πολλούς**—predicate, 'in large numbers'.

19. **Ἠλείων**—see ch. 62, 8. **πρὸς τοῖς προτέροις**—ch. 61, 1. Classen points out that no new commander's name is given, though both the Athenian generals had fallen in the battle.

23. **διελόμενοι**—sc. *τὴν πόλιν*, or the operations against it: cf. ch. 114, 4: iv. 11, 3, *κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελόμενοι*, with no object expressed. **ἐξεπαύσαντο**—a strong expression = *ἀπέκαμον τοῦ περιτειχίζειν* (schol.). This is the only instance of the middle given in Lid. and Scott.

26. **τὴν ἄκραν**—a rocky promontory near the harbour. **τὸ Ἡραῖον** is in apposition; as in i. 46, 3, *ἡ ἄκρα τὸ Χειμέριον*. There are various forms of such construction with names; e.g. (*a*) iv. 25, 5, *κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμόν* (the usual order

with *ποταμος*): iv. 108, 1, *ἡ Βόλβη λίμνη*: iv. 43, 1, *ἐπὶ τὴν Σολύγειαν κώμην*: (*b*) i. 116, 1, *πρὸς Τραγίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ*: iv. 96, 5, *πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος*: (*c*) i. 100, 3, *τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἐννέα ὁδοί*: vii. 3, 4, *τὸ φρούριον τὸ Λάβδαλον*: (*d*) ch. 41, 8, *ἔχει Θυρέαν πόλιν*: (*e*) iv. 46. 1, *ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ἰστώνης*. See Krüger's *Grammar*, § 50, 7.

27. **ξυγκαταλιπόντες**—another rare word, denoting the common action of the combined force. The fortified position now occupied was not long retained, see ch. 80, 16.

CHAPTER LXXVI

1. **εὐθύς**—with *χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου*: ch. 13, 1, with *ἐπιγιγνομένου*: so iv. 52, 1. **ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια ἦγαγον**—most modern editors regard this clause as an interpolation derived from ch. 75, 23, for the Carneia were over long before the winter period began; see ch. 54, 9. Jowett however holds that the words 'are not intended as a mark of time, but have reference to the advantage taken of the Carneia by the enemies of Sparta'. If so, they seem somewhat misleading.

5. **ξυμβατηρίους**—a word only found in this chapter in Attic Greek, though used by later writers. Thucydides has *λόγοι ξυμβατικοί*, vi. 103, 3; so viii. 71, 1, and 91, 1, *οὐδὲν ξυμβατικόν*.

ib. **ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς**—from the position of the words = 'they had adherents', though the dative may depend on *ἐπιτήδειοι*. **πρότερόν τε...καὶ ἐπειδή**—see note on iv. 103, 3, *ἔπραξάν τε... καὶ τότε*. In such cases the clause with *τε* refers to a time before that with which the main part of the sentence deals. **ἐπιτήδειοι**—favourable to their interests; i. 60, 2, *τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις ἀεί ποτε ἐπιτήδειος*. **τὸν δῆμον**—the democracy, as in line 11: iii. 81, 3 etc.: without the article i. 107, 3: vi. 27 fin. etc.

8. **ἐς τὴν ὁμολογίαν**—loosely connected with *πείθειν* = *ὥστε τὴν ὁμολογίαν ποιεῖσθαι*. **ποιήσαντες**—'after effecting'; cf. ch. 38, 27. **καὶ ξυμμαχίαν**—sc. *ποιῆσαι*, 'afterwards to bring about an alliance as well, and then' etc. **ἐπιτίθεσθαι**—iii. 72, 1, *ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δήμῳ*.

13. **Λίχας**—see ch. 50, 16. **δύο λόγω**—two proposals. **καθ' ὅ τι κ.τ.λ.**—'mira verborum brevitas', says Poppo, who adds that *πολεμήσουσι* and *εἰρήνην ἄξουσι* are to be understood with *καθ' ὅ τι* and *ὡς* respectively. We have other forms of ellipse where terms are offered, e.g. iv. 37, 2, *ἐκήρυξαν εἰ βούλοιντο τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι*, sc. that they should accept these conditions: cf. iii. 52, 2, *προσπέμπει κήρυκα λέγοντα εἰ κ.τ.λ.* Dobree suggested leaving out *εἰ* in both clauses. The proposal for war may have been something like the arrangement recorded in ch. 41.

16. **ἔτυχε...παρών**—ch. 61, 9. **τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις** for dative cf. iv. 106, 2, *τῶν πρασσόντων τῷ Βρασίδᾳ*, where also **ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ** occurs. **τολμῶντες**—so ii. 43, 1, and often.

CHAPTER LXXVII

The terms of the treaty in this chapter, and of the alliance in ch. 79, are given in the Doric dialect. The language however, according to the authorities, does not entirely conform to the rules of Laconian speech; and the documents may have been modified in the course of transcription. 'These two treaties imposed by the victorious Lacedaemonians upon Argos mark the final dissolution of the alliance between Argos and the discontented members of the Peloponnesian league, and also of the alliance between Argos, Athens, Elis, and Mantinea' (Jowett).

1. **κᾱττάδε**—i.e. *κατὰ τάδε*: ch. 79 init. so *καττὰ* for *κατὰ τά*, line 15. **τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ**—'The usual name of a public assembly in the Doric states was *ἁλία*. This is the name by which the Spartan assembly is called in Herodotus (vii. 134), and it is also used in official documents for those of Byzantium, of Gela, Agrigentum, Corcyra and Heraclea. In Sparta the ancient name of an assembly of the people was *ἀπέλλα*. In later times the names *ἐκκλησία* and *οἱ ἔκκλητοι* appear to have been chiefly in use' (Müller's *Dorians*, Bk. iii. 5, 9). See vi. 88, 10, *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*. In the passage cited from Herodotus *ἁλίη* seems merely his own general term; as he uses it in i. 125, of an assembly of Persians; v. 30, of a meeting held at Miletus; v. 79, of an assembly at Thebes.

2. **ξυμβαλέσθαι**—'to make agreement'; so line 24: Xen. *Anab.* vi. 6, 35, *ξενίαν συνεβάλλοντο*: vi. 3, 3, *συνεβάλοντο λόφον*, 'they agreed on a certain hill'. **ποττώς** = *πρὸς τούς*: Theocr. xi. 1, *ποττὸν Ἔρωτα*: Ar. *Lys.* 1005, *ποττὰς σπονδάς*. **ἀποδιδόντας**—'on their restoring'. **παῖδας** must be the hostages mentioned at the end of ch. 61, who were given to the Mantineans: Argos is therefore made responsible for their return.

4. **τὼς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις**—'no former mention had been made of the Maenalians; but as they had no one city, but were dispersed in several villages, an invading army could have had no difficulty in obliging them to give hostages separately, nor was there any one town capable of affording such resistance as to make its submission deserve a separate notice' (Arnold). 'The men in Mantinea' are the Arcadian hostages whom the Lacedaemonians had deposited in Orchomenus, and who were handed over to the Mantineans (ch. 61 fin.). There is a clear distinction made between *παῖδες* and *ἄνδρες* in this passage. Classen supposes that *παῖδες* may be youths who had not attained military age; Krüger suggests that slaves may be meant.

6. **ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρω**—i.e. *Ἐπιδαύρου*. The district or neighbourhood is meant, as in ch. 55, 2. **ἐκβῶντας** = *ἐκβαίνοντας*: see Lid. and Scott, *προβάω*. **τὸ τεῖχος** is the headland of Heraeum, ch. 75, 26.

7. **αἰ δέ κα**—*αἰ* = *εἰ*: *κα* for Ionic *κε* = Attic *ἄν*: the whole phrase being equivalent to *ἐὰν δέ*. **εἴκωντι** = *εἴκωσι*, 'withdraw': Krüger cites *εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης* from Tyrtaeus; Hdt. ii. 80, *εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ*.

8. **πολεμίους εἶμεν**— = *εἶναι*; so ch. 79, 2. *ἦμεν* is also read. The Athenians are the subject. 'A note of hostility to the Athenians is now first openly expressed, not unnaturally, since the captives were recovered, and the Athenians had taken part in the battle of Mantinea' (Jowett).

11. **ἔχοντι**—*ἔχωντι* is also read, but the indicative, as Poppo shows, gives the better sense, as it is a question of actual fact. For *εἰ* with the subjunctive see Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 454. Madvig (*Greek Syntax*, § 125) restricts the use in Attic prose to 'the archaic phraseology of law'.

12. **περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος**— = *τοῦ θεοῦ θύματος*: Ar. *Lys.* 81, *ναὶ τὼ σιώ*. We should expect *τῶ σιῶ τῶ σύματος*; cf. i. 139, 1, *περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσεως*: vi. 33, 1, *περὶ τοῦ ἐπίπλου*

τῆς ἀληθείας. Otherwise σιῶ is without the article, having in itself a definite force: cf. iv. 110, 1, ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διορύγματος, βασιλεύς, without the article, meaning the king of Persia. For 'the sacrifice due to the god', viz. Apollo Pythaeus, see ch. 53, 3.

The reading of the remainder of this passage seems hopelessly uncertain, but the general sense is, as Arnold says, 'that with respect to the victim alleged by the Argives to be owed to the temple of Apollo from the Epidaurians, the matter should be decided by the oath of the Epidaurians, who were to swear whether it was justly due from them or no. It is well known that, where the evidence was not clear, the accused was allowed to clear himself by oath; and if he swore that he was innocent, the accuser had no further remedy'. See the provisions in ch. 18, 20.

13. **εἶμεν λῆν**—the manuscript readings, ἐμὲν λῆν, ἐμέλην, etc. are various and unintelligible. **λῆν** is the infinitive of λάω = θέλω: Ar. *Lys.* 981, λῶ τι μυσίξαι νέον: *Ach.* 766, αἰ λῇς = εἰ θέλεις. The reading in the text is taken (i) 'that it be allowed to the Epidaurians to choose (λῆν) an oath'; but λῆν can scarcely thus govern an accusative: (ii) 'that (the contracting parties) desire (λῆν) that an oath be allowed (εἶμεν) to the Epidaurians', or be taken by them. Some support for this rendering is derived, as Jowett points out, from ch. 18, 59, ἔστω δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅρκος: but it is most awkward to connect λῆν with the initial δοκεῖ, like the other infinitives throughout the chapter. Should λῆν be omitted?

ib. **δόμεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀμόσαι**—if αὐτούς be right it is the subject of δόμεν (= δοῦναι) and must refer to the Argives, who were to tender the oath. This makes sense, but forces the meaning of αὐτούς: Arnold accordingly reads αὐτοῖς, = that it be tendered to them.

The reading adopted of this clause assumes εἶμεν λῆν in the clause before. There is however another suggested reading **αἰ μέν** = εἰ μέν, the infinitive λῆν being taken with αἰ, 'if they will'. εἰ with the infinitive in oratio obliqua is Herodotean; there is one instance in Thucydides, iv. 98, 3, εἰ ..δυνηθῆναι, where see note. With this reading there is a different group of suggestions and explanations; e.g. Becker's αἰ μὲν λῆν τὼς Ἐπιδαυρίως, ὅρκον δόμεναι αὐτοῖς ὀμόσαι, 'if the Epidaurians please etc.': and Ahrens' conjecture αἰ μὲν λῆν, τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον δόμεν, αἰ δέ, αὐτὼς ὀμόσαι, 'if they please, they may tender an oath to the Epidaurians, if (otherwise) they may swear themselves'; i.e. the matter was to be decided either by the oath of the Epidaurians or by that of the Argives.

Further discussion of the text may be found in Classen and Fowler.

14. **καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας**—'attende articulum non additum, qui ideo omissus videtur, quia sententia haec est: sive parvae sint sive magnae' (Poppo). 'The independence of the cities of Peloponnesus, 'small and great', is proclaimed, probably to avoid the suspicion which had been engendered by the former treaty between Lacedaemon and Athens, ch. 29, and on the other hand to prevent larger states, like Elis or Mantinea, increasing their power by the subjugation of smaller ones' (Jowett). See note at the beginning of ch. 47.

16. **αἰ δέ κα τῶν ἐκτός**—this clause is especially directed against Athens. **ἐπὶ κακῷ**—ch. 18, 28. **ἀλεξέμεναι**—i.e. *ἀλέξειν*: 'to lend aid' or repel the enemy from another: mid. 'repel from one's self': cf. *ἀμύνω, ἀμύνομαι*.

18. **ἀμόθι**—probably = Doric *ἁμᾶ* (or *ἁμᾷ*) i.e. *ἅμα*: cf. ch. 47, 80, *κοινῇ βουλευομέναις*: ch. 80, 8, *μὴ ξυμβαίνειν...ἀλλ' ἢ ἅμα*. Lid. and Scott however say that the word means 'in any way', as *οὐδαμόθι* = *οὐδαμοῦ*. **ἀμοθεί** is also read and is interpreted either in the same sense = *ἅμα*, or as derived from *α* privative and *μόθος*, 'sine seditione et dissensione' (Ahrens). **ὅπᾳ κα** = *ὅπῃ ἄν*, ch. 18, 67: viii. 56, 4. *ἐντί* = *εἰσί*. For **ἐσσοῦνται**, Ahrens reads *ἐσσίονται*.

23. **ἐπιδείξαντας**—'the contracting parties to show these conditions to the allies before concluding the treaty'. The participle as usual is the emphatic word. For **ξυμβαλέσθαι** see line 2.

24. **αἴ κα αὐτοῖς δοκῇ**—*αὐτοῖς* seems certainly to refer to the allies. If they approved, the treaty was to be signed at once. Their possible disapproval is dealt with in the next clause, **αἰ δέ τι**, where the addition of *καὶ ἄλλο* as read by Arnold makes the sense clear, but has little authority. One manuscript has *μή*. **κα** *ἄλλο* is a plausible suggestion; but we see from ch. 79, 13, that the subjunctive can stand with *αἰ* alone.

25. **ἀπιάλλην**— = *ἀποπέμπειν*. The subject is not clear. Either the Lacedaemonians and Argives were to send the allies home to consult their respective home governments; or the allies were to send the proposed terms home for con-

sideration. Grote and others understand that the allies were to be summarily dismissed, and the treaty concluded without them; but this scarcely agrees with the clauses before.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

4. **ἐπιμιξίας οὔσης**—with *παρά*: cf. i. 13, 3, *παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων*: ii. 1, *ἐπεμίγνυντο παρ' ἀλλήλοις*. *ἐπιμιξία* occurs ch. 35, 3.

6. **ἔπραξαν**—see the end of ch. 76. **ἀφέντας**—i. 102, 3, *ἀφέντες τὴν ξυμμαχίαν*: so ch. 115, 7. **σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν**—ch. 46, 40.

CHAPTER LXXIX

3. **ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις**—ch. 27, 14. **διδόντας**—accusative, as if *ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι* had gone before. The construction may have been changed to avoid clashing with the intervening datives.

5. **κοινανεόντων**—= *κοινωνούντων*: *κοινάν* = *κοινῶν* subst., Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 28. **τᾶν ξυμμαχιᾶν**—Classen with Cobet reads *τὰς ξυμμαχίας*, see ch. 27, 2. **αὐτοπόλιες**—not found elsewhere: see the similar compounds at the beginning of ch. 18.

7. **ἔχοντες...διδόντες**—this transition to the masculine is to be noticed. **τοῖσπερ**—sc. *ἐν*: ch. 42, 2. The plural is here used instead of *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷπερ*, ch. 77, 20.

14. **ὅπᾳ κα**—ch. 77, 18. Poppo suggests that *κρίνωντι* should be read for *κρίναντας*. Otherwise the phraseology is elliptical, *κρίνωντι* being implied. See Krüger's *Grammar*, § 69, 7, 2, for somewhat similar examples. The clause refers to the supplies and contingents which the respective cities would have to furnish.

18. **διακριθῆμεν**—in the active *διακρίνω* is to decide or settle a difference; as Hdt. i. 100, *διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας δίκας*. In the passive it is used of the disputants; Plat. *Euthyph.* 7 C, *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱστάναι ἐλθόντες διακριθεῖμεν ἄν*, 'we should settle our difference by recourse to weighing'. Here the meaning seems to be that the allied cities are if possible to 'settle disputes' between themselves. The next item of the treaty provides for arbitration in case of the dispute going on. Arnold however takes the first clause to refer to a difference between an allied city and one outside the confederacy, and the second to a quarrel between two allied cities. The former case was to be settled as best it could; in the latter arbitration was to be resorted to.

19. **ἐρίζοι**—'if the difference should become a quarrel' (Jowett). There seems no especial reason for the optative; though it may be explained as following the initial *ἔδοξε* and as denoting a more improbable and remote contingency than the subjunctive. *δοκείοι* is accommodated to the same construction.

ib. **ἄν τινα ἴσαν**—we should expect *ἄτις ἴσα* as subject to *δοκείοι*. As the text stands either (1) *δοκείοι* means 'considers', the subject being the *πόλις* which goes with *ἐρίζοι* and *εἶναι* being understood: or more probably (2) the full construction is (*ἐς*) *ἄν τινα* (*ὡς οὖσαν*) *ἴσαν* (*ἐλθεῖν*) *δοκείοι*. **δοκείοι** is equivalent to *δοκοίη*.

20. **ἀμφοῖν ταῖς**—we have *ἀμφοῖν τοῖν* ch. 29, 17: *ἄμφω τώ* twice in ch. 23. These are the only instances of *ἄμφω* in Thucydides.

ib. **τὼς δ' ἔτας**—the manuscripts have *τοῖς δ' ἔταις*, which necessitates giving an impersonal passive meaning to **δικάζεσθαι**, 'justice to be administered', for which there is no authority. *ἔται* are private citizens. In an ancient inscription at Olympia they are opposed to the *τελεσταί = οἱ ἐν τέλει*; cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 247, *πρός σε πότερον ὡς ἔτην λέγω...ἢ πόλεως ἀγόν*; Their ancient legal rights are here secured against change of government, or the centralising influence of dominant states.

CHAPTER LXXX

1. **ἐγεγένητο**—for similar pluperfects see iv. 13, 1: iv. 47, 1 (Arnold's note). The alliance is regarded as complete, the following events are the consequences of its completion.

2. **ὁπόσα...εἶχον**—'*εἶχον* is taken in two senses. Whatever were the places belonging to one another which they had gained by war (*εἶχον*) they restored, and any other complaint which they had to bring (*εἶχον*), they settled with one another. *διελύσαντο* in strictness belongs only to *εἴ τι ἄλλο εἶχον*: some word such as *ἀπέδοσαν* having to be supplied with *ὁπόσα πολέμῳ εἶχον*' (Jowett).

3. **διελύσαντο**—i. 140, 4, *βούλονται τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι*: i. 145, 1, *διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων*: pass. iv. 19, 2, *μεγάλας ἔχθρας διαλύεσθαι.*

4. **τιθέμενοι**—managing and arranging; i. 25, 1, *ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἴχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν*: vi. 11, 5, *τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὖ θήσονται.* **τὰ τείχη** any fortified positions which they might hold; especially the fortress at Epidaurus, line 17.

7. **μὴ ξυμβαίνειν τῳ**—see ch. 38, 5. **ἀλλ' ἢ ἅμα** here corresponds to *ἄνευ κοινῆς γνώμης.*

8. **θυμῷ ἔφερον**—'carried on with spirit'; 'they were very energetic in all their doings' (Jowett): i. 31, 1, *ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πόλεμον*: iv. 121, 1, *τὸν πόλεμον προθύμως οἴσειν*: Hdt. ix. 40, *προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον.* The construction is similar, though the sense is slightly different, in Eur. *Suppl.* 556, *ἀδικουμένους μέτρια μὴ θυμῷ φέρειν*: id. *Andr.* 144, *τὸ σὸν οἴκτῳ φέρουσα τυγχάνω*: where *φέρω* means 'bearing' rather than 'conducting'; cf. *βαρέως φέρειν* etc.

9. **ὡς Περδίκκαν**—Perdiccas still professed to be an ally of Athens; see ch. 6, 6. **διενοεῖτο**—*ἀποστῆναι* is understood, as *ἀποστάντας* is understood with **ἑώρα**: cf. i. 1, 1, *τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν ξυνιστάμενον: τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον*, sc. *ξυνίστασθαι*: vii. 65, 1, *ἀντεπλήρουν τὰς ναῦς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ᾐσθάνοντο*, sc. *πληροῦντας.*

13. **ἦν δὲ...ἐξ Ἄργους**—ii. 99, 2, *Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργους*, of Perdiccas and his ancestors: see also Hdt. viii. 137. For constr. cf. iv. 3, 3, *οἰκείους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον*. **τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι**—in ch. 31, 29, we find the Chalcidians making a league with Argos. They had probably been regarded as allies of Sparta since 432, when they revolted from Athens (i. 58, 1).

17. **τὸ ἐξ**—ch. 34, 1, note. Arnold quotes Hdt. vii. 37, *ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁδόν*. **τεῖχος**—see ch. 75, 26.

18. **ὁρῶντες...ὄντες**—the manuscript reading is *ὄντας*, which might possibly be explained as referring to *τοὺς σφετέρους*: *ὄντες* however is read by all editors, to avoid ambiguity. The position was held by the Argive confederates jointly (ch. 75).

19. **Δημοσθένην**—the common form of the accusative of this name. It is a 'heteroclite', like *Σωκράτης*, which makes both *Σωκράτην* and *Σωκράτη*.

21. **πρόφασιν**—the accusative in apposition adverbially used; so iii. 111, 1: cf. *προῖκα, δωρεάν* etc. In ch. 53, 2, we have *προφάσει*. 'Demosthenes seems to have acted partly from bravado, partly because he preferred to give up the fortress to the Epidaurians, rather than leave it in the possession of the confederate troops, which included those of Argos, now in alliance with Sparta. By the terms of the first treaty (ch. 77, 6) the Argives equally with the Athenians were bound to evacuate the fortress, but this may have been unknown to Demosthenes' (Jowett).

22. **τὸ ἄλλο φρουρικόν**—i.e. *οἱ ἄλλοι φρουροί*. The reading of the best manuscripts is *φρούριον*, which Classen retains, in the sense of *φρουρά*, ch. 73, 28. There appears however no certain authority for this usage, and here it would be particularly awkward after the word has just been used in its natural way. It is tempting to suggest the omission either of *φρουρικόν* or the preceding *τοῦ φρουρίου*.

23. **ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὰς σπονδάς**—'the treaty referred to is probably that made at the general peace (ch. 18), which, after the many vicissitudes of Athenian and Lacedaemonian politics, might well need to be renewed in any particular which was henceforth intended to be observed. The Epidaurians are

mentioned by name in the armistice (iv. 119, 2), but are only included, without being named, among the allies of the Lacedaemonians in the treaty' (Jowett).

24. **αὐτοί**—thus avoiding the appearance of compulsion, and excluding their late allies from any credit for the surrender.

CHAPTER LXXXI

3. **οὐ δυνάμενοι**—see note on *διενοεῖτο*, ch. 80, 12. **ξυνέβησαν**—for 30 years, according to Xen. *Hell.* v. 2, 2. **τὴν ἀρχὴν...τῶν πόλεων**—see ch. 29, ch. 33 etc. These cities were given up in accordance with the provision of the treaty, ch. 79, 5.

6. **καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι**—this sentence is a curious example of appositional construction, the subject being first contracted with *αὐτοὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* and again expanded with *ξυναμφότεροι*. The clause beginning **τά τ' ἐν Σικυῶνι** is in fact semi-parenthetical, and the meaning is that the Lacedaemonians before marching with the Argives to Argos, went by themselves to Sicyon. The Argive **χίλιοι** seem those mentioned in ch. 67, 15; most of them escaping the slaughter of Mantinea (ch. 73, 22).

8. **ἐς ὀλίγους...κατέστησαν**—i.e. set up an oligarchical government; ii. 37, 1, *διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν*: viii. 53, 4, *ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν*: viii. 89, 3, *τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν*. In viii. 38, 3, the manuscripts have *τῆς πόλεως ἐς ὀλίγον κατεχομένης*, where the meaning required is 'being reduced to an oligarchy'. No similar instance of *ἐς ὀλίγον* is forthcoming, and Classen and Stahl adopt Dobree's correction *ἐς ὀλίγους*.

ib. **μᾶλλον**—Krüger seems right in understanding *ἢ ἐς πλείονας*. Most editors understand *ἢ πρότερον*: but Krüger observes that this would require a more emphatic position of *μᾶλλον*, such as before *ἐς*. Grote points out that Sicyon had always been oligarchic and favourable to Sparta; but a democratic party may have been making head.

10. **κατέλυσαν**—see ch. 76, 7. **ἐπιτηδεία**—'favourable to their interests'. This was the Lacedaemonian system; see i. 19, 1, *οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσι θεραπεύοντες.*

12. **πρὸς ἔαρ**—cf. iv. 135, 1, *τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ ἤδη.*

CHAPTER LXXXII

1. **Διῆς**—see note on ch. 35, 1. **ἐπιτηδείως**—see note on ch. 81, 11. **καθίσταντο**—of political arrangements. At the beginning of the war Achaia was neutral, with the exception of Pellene (ii. 9, 2).

5. **κατ' ὀλίγον**—'little by little', gradually; i. 61 fin. *κατ' ὀλίγον προιόντες*: usually 'in small divisions' as in iv. 10, 4. **ξυνιστάμενος**—'conspiring'; iii. 70, 4: or perhaps merely 'getting together', as in ii. 88, 1. 'The oligarchy which was established in Argos *πρὸς ἔαρ* (ch. 81, 12), say in March, lasted till the time of the *γυμνοπαιδίαι*, a period of about 5 months. During this period the secret meetings and deliberations of the popular party were held, until sufficient confidence for a rising had been gained. **ἀναθαρσήσας** in the aorist denotes the conclusion of the deliberations expressed by the present *ξυνιστάμενος*' (F.).

The clause *κατ' ὀλίγον...ἀναθαρσήσας* is to be taken in apposition (Krüger), otherwise *ἐπέθεντο* with the singular participle would be harsh and almost unexampled: cf. iii. 80. 1, *ὁ δῆμος..., περιδεὴς γενόμενος..., ᾖεσαν ἐς λόγους.*

6. **ἐπέθεντο**—ch. 76, 11. **τηρήσαντες**—ii. 22, 1, *τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον*: with infinitive iv. 26, 4, *ἐτήρουν ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι.* **αὐτάς**—'the exact time of': ii. 3, 3, *φυλάξαντες αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον.* The Gymnopaediae were held in Hecatombaeon, about July. The festival consisted of gymnastic and warlike exercises, and, like the Carneia, kept the Spartans at home.

10. **ἕως μέν**—anterior in time to the clause with *δέ*, and subordinate in sense. **ἐκ πλείονος**—'for some time back'; iv.

42, 3: iv. 103, 3. It is to be taken with ἦλθον. The sense is that, though the Lacedaemonians had for some time taken no notice of repeated appeals for help, yet now they postponed the festival and marched out. There is a suspicious incompleteness about the sentence, and a want of antithesis between the clauses with μέν and δέ. We should expect τότε δέ or the like.

17. **ἀγγέλων**—'as messengers'. Most editors would omit this word. F. follows Müller-Strübing in reading καὶ ἀγγέλων τῶν. The Argives in the city sent *envoys*, the exiles could only send *messengers*. πρεσβέων τε ἀπό is also suggested for πρεσβέων ἀπό τε. This would make the sentence clearer; still irregularities with τε are common.

18. **ἀφ' ἑκατέρων**—'on either side'; iii. 36, 5, γνῶμαι ἀφ' ἑκάστων ἐλέγοντο: ch. 37, 2. **ἔγνωσαν**—'pronounced', as heads of the Peloponnesian league. **διατριβαί**—ch. 38, 30: vii. 49, 3, ὄκνος τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐνεγένετο. **προσαγόμενος**—'courting' or 'trying to gain'; more usually of persons, iii. 32, 2, ὀλίγους ἐς φιλίαν προσάξεσθαι. Also of acquiring places by capitulation, as in ii. 30, 2: vi. 54, 3.

24. **μέγιστον [ἂν]...ὠφελήσειν**—so vii. 24, 3, μέγιστον ἐκάκωσε: vii. 44, 6 μέγιστον ἔβλαψε. The plural is more common in such cognate constructions, but the singular is quite regular; see Krüger's *Grammar*, § 46, 5. **ἄν** with the future infinitive is found five times in Thucydides according to manuscript authority. Whether it can be retained is a moot point; see note on ch. 15, 11, and Goodwin, § 208: Madvig's *Greek Syntax*, § 173, R. 2. Here it is easy to omit ἄν or to read ὠφελῆσαι. The subject of the infinitive in the Athenian alliance, not the contemplated building of walls (Herbst). The latter view involves a gratuitous irregularity in the use of τε and καί, and in no way improves the sense.

25. **μακρὰ τείχη**—see ch. 52, 15. The distance to the sea, according to Pausanias, was four miles and a half. Plutarch says that the building of the walls was promoted by Alcibiades, who came to Argos after the victory of the democracy (*Alc.* 15).

27. **ἐπαγωγή**—vii. 24, 3, οἱ ἔσπλοι τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: i. 81, 1, ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν δέονται ἐπάξονται.

ib. **ξυνῄδεσαν**—the following accusative is rare: Hdt. vi. 39, συνειδότες τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν θάνατον: Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3, 6, ξυνει-

δόντας τὴν πρᾶξιν. Krüger suggests ξυνῄνεσαν. Jealousy and fear of Sparta, no doubt fomented by Alcibiades, had already produced an inclination towards Athens, and long walls would draw the Argives into closer connexion with the Athenian naval power. For the position of **τινές** cf. i. 45, 2, and i. 53, 4, ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων (where Krüger reads χωρίον): Xen. *Anab.* ii. 5, 32, τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἱππέων. In ch. 25, 7, the order is different.

31. **τέκτονες**—timber was used in such works; vi. 99, 1, λίθους καὶ ξύλα ξυμφοροῦντες, of the besieging Athenians at Syracuse.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

2. **τειχιζόντων**—*αἰσθάνομαι* is found with the genitive i. 57, 4 etc., but only here with the genitive participle: the accusative construction is common, as in ch. 37, 18.

4. **αὐτοῖς**—probably with ὑπῆρχε 'they had to start with': but the dative might also be taken with πρασσόμενον. Indeed its construction is affected by both words, in accordance with a common Thucydidean order. **ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους αὐτόθεν**—ii. 25, 3, αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ἠλείων: Hdt. viii. 64, αὐτόθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος.

8. **οὐ προυχώρησεν ἔτι**—'came to nothing further'. **Ὑσιάς**—near the border of Arcadia on the road to Tegea.

14. **ὅτι**—gives the reason for **δῃώσαντες**, the participle as usual being the emphatic word. We may compare the clause in the treaty, ch. 47, 17, ἣν δὲ δῃώσαντες οἴχωνται. **σφῶν**—i. 30, 3, σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν: so iv. 13, 2, αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο. The position of the pronoun gives it an emphatic force, 'they found them receiving, they were aggrieved by their receiving their exiles', cf. Buttmann on Dem. *Meid.* 520, § 17, τὸν διδάσκαλον διέφθειρέ μου. **κατῴκηντο**—i. 120, 2, κατῳκημένους: ii. 96, 1, ὅσα μέρη κατῴκητο. This use of the perfect and pluperfect is peculiar to Thucydides and Herodotus.

16. **κατέκλῃσαν**—'blockaded', they stopped any coasting trade which might be carried on in the winter; *τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν εἰσαγωγίμων τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτοὺς ἀπέκλῃσαν* (schol.): i. 117, 2, *ἐλθόντος τοῦ Περικλέους κατεκλῄσθησαν*. This passage and the scholiast's explanation seem enough to support the reading. *κατελῄισαν* with *Μακεδονίας*, partitive genitive, and *ἐλῄισαν* have been suggested; but the compound is only found in the middle and that in late authors, and the active of the simple verb is too far from the manuscript reading. According to the best manuscripts it occurs in iii. 85, 1, and iv. 41, 2, but even there Classen adopts the middle.

Most manuscripts have **Μακεδονίας Περδίκκαν**: which can scarcely mean 'Perdiccas (king) of Macedonia', no similar instance being known. Another explanation connects the genitive with *κατέκλῃσαν* on the analogy of Soph. *Aj.* 1274, *ἑρκέων ἐγκεκλῃμένοις*, 'shut up within your bulwarks'. **Μακεδονίᾳ** has also been conjectured 'shut him up *with*' i.e. 'in Macedonia'. Two inferior manuscripts have **Μακεδονίαν**, and probably this or *Μακέδονας* should be adopted, the scholiast's *αὐτούς* being in favour of the latter. *Περδίκκᾳ*, depending on *ἐπικαλοῦντες*, should then be read in accordance with Goeller's suggestion; cf. ch. 59, 29.

19. **ξυνωμοσίαν**—see ch. 80, 11. **παρασκευασαμένων**—we are told nothing of this intended expedition. It could scarcely have been before Cleon's death, as Perdiccas up to that time had been faithful to the Athenians since he broke with Brasidas in 423; see ch. 6, 6, and iv. 132, 1. Besides, it is mentioned after the *ξυνωμοσία*.

22. **ἐψευστο**—'had belied', i.e. failed in; iii. 66, 3, *τὴν ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν*: Hdt. vi. 32, *οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλάς*. So Hom., Eur. and Xen.

ib. **ἡ στρατιά**—this would imply that the troops were actually sent; or the army at any rate embodied. Perhaps *στρατεία* should be read; but **διελύθη**, 'was broken up', goes more naturally with *στρατιά*.

23. **ἀπάραντος**—elsewhere *ἀπαίρω* is to start, or put to sea, as in iv. 26, 4: iv. 46, 1. Possibly it may here be used to mean 'by his defection', which is the sense required. Most editors however believe it to be corrupt. Poppo suggests *ἀποστάντος*: Classen *οὐ παρόντος*, *ἀπατήσαντος* etc.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

1. **Ἀλκιβιάδης τε**—answered by *καὶ ἐπί*, line 6. **ἔτι**—see ch. 82, 9. **κατέθεντο**—iii. 72, 1, *κατέθεντο ἐς Αἴγιναν*: vi. 61, 3, *τοὺς ὁμήρους τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις κειμένους*, where *κεῖμαι* represents the perfect passive of *κατατίθεσθαι*, as in ch. 61, 22.

8. **Λεσβίαις**—so in most manuscripts: Classen prefers *Λεσβίαιν*. According to Cobet's rule *Λεσβίοιν* would be the proper dual form; see note on iv. 4, 2. In favour of retaining *Λεσβίαις* cf. ch. 79 fin. *ἀμφοῖν ταῖς πολίεσι*: so in vii. 50, 2, *δυοῖν ἡμερῶν* is read by some, though *δύο* has the best authority. According to Krüger's *Grammar*, § 44, 2, the dual and plural are used indifferently with *δύο* undeclined; the dual more commonly with *δυοῖν*.

These Lesbian ships were from Methymna, which remained free when the rest of the island was allotted to Athenian *κληροῦχοι* in 427 (iii. 50).

11. **ξυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν**—not necessarily identical, as Classen shows, citing vi. 85, 2, where the Athenians explain the various degrees of independence enjoyed by their so-called allies: see also ii. 9, 3.

12. **οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι**—'now the Melians'; *δέ* introduces the statement of the grounds of the invasion. **Λακεδαιμονίων**—Hdt. viii. 48, *Μήλιοι γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος*.

14. **οὐκ ἤθελον**—note the force of the imperfects in this sentence. **ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι**—ii. 9, 3, *πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας*. **οὐδετέρων ὄντες**—we should expect either *οὐδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων ὄντες* (the regular form with a preposition), or *οὐδετέρων ὄντες ξύμμαχοι*. In iii. 86, 2, however, we have *Λοκροὶ Συρακοσίων ἦσαν*, sc. *ξύμμαχοι*. **ἠνάγκαζον**—the Athenians attacked them in 426 under the command of Nicias (iii. 91).

17. **ἐς πόλεμον...κατέστησαν**—ch. 25, 17.

ib. **στρατοπεδευσάμενοι.. ἐς**—the preposition of motion is not found elsewhere with *στρατοπεδεύεσθαι*, but there is no difficulty in the pregnant construction, nor any need to read *στρατευσάμενοι*: cf. i. 109, 2, *ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέκλῃσεν*.

23. **ταῖς ἀρχαῖς**—'the authorities'; ch. 28, 2. The **ὀλίγοι** seem to have been a select council or assembly.

CHAPTER LXXXV

For the place of the 'Melian discussion' in the history, see Introduction.

The Athenians first propose a debate on the several points at issue instead of continuous speeches.

3. **ὅπως δή**—so vii. 18, 1, where *δή* gives the actual reason, not merely an alleged motive. **ῥήσει**—only here in Thucydides. **ἀνέλεγκτα**—not to be questioned or disproved.

6. **τοῦτο φρονεῖ**—'this is the idea (intention) of' your bringing us before the few: vi. 36, 2, *αἱ ἀγγελίαι τοῦτο δύνανται.* For **ὑμῶν** Krüger and others prefer the objective genitive **ἡμῶν**.

7. **ἀγωγή**—'bringing': there are two passages, iv. 29, 1, and vi. 29, 3, where this word is found in the manuscripts and where the sense required is 'putting to sea' or the like. In both passages most editors alter it into *ἀναγωγή*. In Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 1, 24, *ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς* means 'on marches' lit. the 'leading' of an army.

9. **μηδ' ὑμεῖς**—*μηδέ* compares the two parties to the discussion; 'do not you any more than we'. As the Melians feared the effect of an uninterrupted address from the Athenians, so on their part they were not to restrict themselves to a single speech, but state their objections item by item as they occurred. According to this view **ἑνὶ λόγῳ** depends on the sense 'giving your answer' supplied from the following words. Classen however takes *ἑνὶ λόγῳ* of the Athenians' speech, connecting it closely with **κρίνετε**, 'do not you either form your decision from (hearing) a single speech'. *μηδέ* then would contrast *ὑμεῖς*, the select audience, with the *πλῆθος*. This view gives a good sense, but it seems more natural to refer *ἑνὶ λόγῳ* to the subject of the sentence, and the dative can scarcely equal *ἕνα λόγον ἀκούσαντες*.

10. **ὑπολαμβάνοντες**—'replying'; ii. 72, 1: ch. 49, 20.

11. **εἴπατε**—the only instance of a form from aorist *εἶπα* in Thucydides. Generally *εἶπας* and *εἴπατε* are more usual than the corresponding forms of *εἶπον*.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

The Melian representatives fear that they will have no real freedom of discussion. The verdict has already gone against them.

1. **ξύνεδροι**—'commissioners'; iv. 22, 1: they are afterwards called *ὀλίγοι ἄνδρες* in the same chapter.

2. **ἐπιείκεια**—'equitableness', and reasonable consideration; iii. 40, 3, *ἡ ἐπιείκεια πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιτηδείους ἔσεσθαι δίδοται*: iii. 48, 1, *μήτ' οἴκτῳ πλέον νέμοντες μήτ' ἐπιεικείᾳ*. 'The primary sense of *ἐπιεικής* is *equitable*, one who has a leaning to the merciful side and of an indulgent disposition, as opposed to one who takes a strict and vigorous view of an offence, puts a harsh construction on men's motives and actions, and is inclined to enforce on all occasions the letter of the law. From this, and because we think this the *better* disposition of the two, *ἐπιεικής* is transferred by metaphor to the general signification of *good*' (Cope on Ar. *Rhet.* i. 2, 4). For further illustration of *τὸ ἐπιεικές* see Ar. *Rhet.* i. 13, 13—9: *Eth. Nic.* v. 10: vi. 11, 1.

4. **αὐτοῦ**—'it', *τοῦ διδάσκειν*, etc. **ἐξ αὐτοῦ** below refers to the same. For this use of *αὐτό* and *αὐτά* see ch. 27, 4; and note on *ἐπάθομεν αὐτό*, iv. 25, 1.

7. **περιγενομένοις**—if we prove the better in the justice of our cause: Dem. *Pant.* 978, *πολλῷ τῷ δικαίῳ περιεῖναι βουλόμενος*.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

The Athenians call on them in effect to say yes or no to their proposal.

1. **τοίνυν**—'well then, if you etc.' *τοίνυν* occurs in Thucydides only in direct address; ch. 89, 1: 105, 1, etc.

ib. **ὑπονοίας**—'to calculate surmises of what is going to happen'. *ὑπόνοια* here is a somewhat invidious word: in ii. 41, 4, *τῶν ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν* is simply the conception of facts as opposed to the reality.

2. **ἄλλο τι**—*πράξοντες* may be mentally supplied, but really the phrase is independent of construction; cf. iii. 85, 4, *ἀπόγνοια τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς*: so iii. 39, 1, *τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν*: iii. 58, 5, *τί ἄλλο ἢ καταλείψετε*: ii. 16, *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀπολείπων*.

ib. **ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κ.τ.λ.**—contrasted with the invisible future. **βουλεύσοντες**—here and in ch. 111, 5, the active is appropriately used of the commissioners who 'advise' in the interests of the people at large. There seem however undoubted instances where Thucydides uses *βουλεύω* in the sense of 'taking counsel', and *ἐβούλευσα* of 'deciding'; and where other Attic writers would employ the middle: see note on iv. 15, 1.

4. **παυοίμεθ' ἄν**—'we will (in that case) stop'. Contrast this cynical affectation of indifference with the peremptory *εἴπατε* at the end of ch. 85.

ib. **ἐπὶ τοῦτο**—sc. *ξυνήκετε*: iv. 18, 1, *ἐφ' ἃ νῦν ἀφιγμένοι ὑμᾶς αἰτούμεθα.* There are abundant instances to justify the manuscript reading in iv. 3, 2, *ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνέπλευσε*, though most editors alter it to *ἐπὶ τούτῳ*.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

The Melians agree to the discussion.

1. **μέν**—answered by *μέντοι*. **ξυγγνώμη**—iv. 61, 4, *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πλεονεκτεῖν πολλὴ ξυγγνώμη*. **ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καθεστῶτας**—'in a position like ours'.

2. **ἐπὶ πολλὰ τρέπεσθαι**—ch. 111, 14: i. 20, fin., *ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτοῖμα τρέπονται*. **δοκοῦντας**—'in thought': 'minus invidiosa voce sententiam exprimunt eandem quam Athenienses verbo *ὑπονοεῖν*' (Krüger).

3. **καὶ περὶ σωτηρίας** 'particula *καί* ita collocata est, ut si in altero membro *καὶ τὸν λόγον...ἐχέτω...γιγνόμενον* vel similia quaedam essent secutura' (Poppo): so iii. 67, 6, *ἀμύνατε οὖν καὶ τῷ νόμῳ...καὶ ἡμῖν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν.* **ἥδε πάρεστι**—'is here present'.

CHAPTER LXXXIX

The Athenians deprecate appeals to abstract justice and the like, and call on the Melians to take a practical view of the actual facts.

1. **οὔτε αὐτοί...οὔθ' ὑμᾶς**—'well then, *we* make no pretence of fine words, and we beg *you* will not'. The **ὀνόματα καλά** are appeals to justice and the like, contrasted with **τὰ δυνατά.** Similar language is attributed to the Athenian envoy Euphemus at Camarina, vi. 83, 2, *οὐ καλλιεπούμεθα, ὡς ἢ τὸν βάρβαρον μόνοι καθελόντες εἰκότως ἄρχομεν κ.τ.λ.* See also the whole of the Athenian speech at Sparta before the war, i. 73—78. **ὀνόματα** =*nomina*, names of things; cf. iii. 82, 4, *τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀντήλλαξαν.*

3. **ἀδικούμενοι**—note the use of the present. **ἐπεξερχόμεθα**—'are seeking redress, exacting vengeance'; iii. 38, 1, *ὁ παθὼν...ἐπεξέρχεται*: vi. 38, 2, *ἡμεῖς κακοὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν.*

4. **οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν**—*οὐκ ἀξιῶ*='I request you not'; ch. 26, 9: i. 136, 3, *οὐκ ἀξιοῖ φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι.* **ἢ ὅτι... ἢ ὡς**—dependent on *λέγοντας.* **Λακεδαιμονίων...ξυνεστρατεύσατε**—in sentences like this the verb states a fact of which the participle gives the reason; cf. line 2: iv. 27, 2, *ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι*, 'thought they must have some strong ground to rely on as they made no more overtures'. Here we must supply with *ξυνεστρατεύσατε* either (1) *αὐτοῖς*, '*though* Lacedaemonian colonists you did not serve with them against us': or (2) *ἡμῖν*, 'you did not join us *because* you were Lacedaemonian colonists'. Either rendering gives good sense. In favour of (1), it is easier to supply *αὐτοῖς* from *Λακεδαιμονίων* than to understand *ἡμῖν*, and we also get a sharper antithesis to the following *ἡμᾶς.*

7. **τὰ δυνατὰ...διαπράσσεσθαι**—still dependent on *ἀξιοῦμεν*, *ὑμᾶς* being the subject. Classen holds that the subject is now

not merely ὑμᾶς but ἑκάτεροι, ἀξιοῦμεν being taken in a somewhat altered sense 'we think it right (for both of us) to endeavour to effect etc.' But this view weakens the force of the sentence, in which, from οὔθ' ὑμᾶς, the Athenians are dictating to the Melians the line which they expect them to take. The middle form **διαπράσσεσθαι** implies mutual arrangement.

8. **ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας**—'since you know as well as we do'. *πρός* may be taken either with *διαπράσσεσθαι*, or generally in the sense of 'dealing with, having to do with'.

9. **ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ**—'in the language (or reasoning) of (practical) men', as opposed to the theories of philosophers and the dreams of fanatics: cf. ch. 111, 6, *ἄνθρωποι*: ch. 103, 9, *ἀνθρωπείως*: i. 76, 2, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου*: iii. 40, 1, *ἁμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως*.

ib. **ἀπό**—'from the standpoint of'; i. 21, 2, *ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι*: or perhaps 'starting from', 'backed by'; i. 91, 4, *ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς*: cf. ch. 103, 2. **ἀνάγκης**—probably active = 'power to compel'; i. 99, 1, *προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας*: but possibly 'cum sunt ἐν ἴσῃ ἀνάγκῃ'. Questions of justice may be argued, when both parties are equal in strength, but now it is not a question of abstract justice, but of practical possibilities.

10. **δυνατά**—what can be practically realized; 'but that is possible which the strong effect and the weak acquiesce in': or possibly **πράσσουσι** may mean 'exact'. For *πράσσουσι* the scholiast gives *προστάσσουσι*, which Dobree and Cobet would adopt; *πράσσομεν* however is similarly used in ch. 105, 4. The neuter plural is the object of **ξυγχωροῦσιν**, as in ch. 41, 12.

CHAPTER XC

The Melians urge that, even setting aside abstract considerations of justice, they may hope for fair treatment on the ground of general expediency.

1. **ᾗ μὲν δή**—'as we think, at any rate, it is advantageous'. Some editors have *ἡμεῖς δή*, or *ἡμεῖς μὲν δή*, making *χρήσιμον* depend on *νομίζομεν*.

2. **ἀνάγκη γάρ**—'we must needs take the ground of expediency'. **παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον**—'setting aside, passing by the question of justice'. **ὑπέθεσθε**—'lay down the principle', 'make expediency the basis of discussion'.

3. **τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν**—explained by what follows. It is the principle of equity, and reasonable consideration.

5. **εἶναι τὰ εἰκότα καὶ δίκαια**—'that for him who from time to time is in danger (1) what is reasonable should be also considered just'; or (2) 'he should have all that is reasonable and just'. (1) is supported by the absence of *καί* from the best manuscripts; while the scholiast's explanation, *τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τὰ δίκαια νέμεσθαι*, is in favour of (2), which also gives a more emphatic force to *εἶναι*.

Dobree is in favour of taking *τὰ εἰκότα κ.τ.λ.* as dependent, like *τι καὶ ἐντός*, on *πείσαντα*, 'men in danger should be allowed, if they can plead what is reasonable and just, nay something even short of strict justice, to get the benefit thereof'.

For this force of *εἶναι* cf. iii. 39, 9, *ὅταν ᾖ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευθέρωσις ᾖ, ἢ σφαλέντι μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν.* Krüger and Stahl would omit *δίκαια*.

ib. **καί τι καὶ ἐντός**—'something which even falls short of the strict letter': Cic. *Ep. Fam.* ix. 26, 9, non modo non contra legem sed *intra legem:* so *cis, citra*; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 30, veniam petens quod ei *cis Plautios cis Vettios* dissimulavisset, 'begging pardon for having hidden what he knew, so long as matters did not go beyond a Plautius and a Vettius': ib. xii. 22, ira Agrippinae *citra* ultima stetit, 'stopped short of extremities'.

ib. **τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς**—'strict justice'; iv. 47, 1, *ὥστε ἀκριβῆ τὴν πρόφασιν γενέσθαι.*

6. **πείσαντα**—nearly all manuscripts have *πείσοντα*, which some editors retain as = *μέλλοντα πείσειν*, 'if he has the prospect of getting accepted'; 'although he may be destined to fail in making out a strict case' (Jowett). But the slight alteration to the aorist is preferable, 'quum utilitas *perfecta demum persuasione* effici possit' (Poppo). With *πείσαντα* is connected the neuter accusative *τι* (iv. 17, 1, *ὅ τι ἂν πείθωμεν*), and also, if Dobree's view be adopted, *τινα* as accusative of the object. Otherwise *τινα* is the subject of *ὠφεληθῆναι*. For the use of *ὠφελεῖσθαι*, cf. iii. 53, 3, *ἐπεισενεγκάμενοι μαρτύρια ὠφελούμεθ' ἄν.*

ib. **πρὸς ὑμῶν**—'for your advantage', 'in your interest'; iv. 17, 2, *τὰ πλείω ὁρῶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ὄντα*. **οὐχ ἧσσον**—*litotes*. The following **ὅσῳ** is connected with the comparative.

7. **ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ τιμωρίᾳ**—*ἐπί* seems here connected with **σφαλέντες**, to denote the conditions under which the Athenians would be defeated if such an event should take place; 'having the heaviest vengeance to look for in case you should be overthrown'. So we say 'standing to lose' so much on a future event.

Krüger and Classen connect the words with *παράδειγμα ἂν γένοισθε*, taking *ἐπί* to denote the accompanying circumstances and conditions; 'you would, by the heavy vengeance which you would incur, become an example to others'. Others render 'an example for inflicting vengeance', meaning that the Athenians are setting a precedent which may be used against them if they fall. But the idea is rather that if punishment should hereafter fall on Athens it would be so heavy as to be a warning to all other nations against lawless ambition. For **παράδειγμα** in the sense of a warning example, which certainly seems the meaning here, cf. iii. 39, 3.

CHAPTER XCI

The Athenians set aside general considerations. They are competent to look after their own interests. Now they are come with a definite purpose; and they urge that it is better for both sides that the Melians should submit to their power.

2. **τὴν τελευτήν**—an unusual accusative. It is explained by Classen as an extension of the adverbial construction, like *ἀποροῦντες ταῦτα* ch. 40, 16. There however *ταῦτα = ταύτας τὰς ἀπορίας*, and the accusative is cognate and 'internal'; which is not the case with *τελευτήν* here. Poppo says 'compara cum *τρέμειν τί, φρίσσειν τι, φοβεῖσθαί τι, ἐκπλήσσεσθαι τι*, Latinis *tremere aliquid, horrere aliquid*, similibus'. Elsewhere *ἀθυμεῖν* is connected with the dative; as in vii. 60, 5, *τῷ κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας*. Here the dative would give a wrong sense, 'we are cast down by', and would imply that the *τελευτή* was a fact already reached, not merely a future possibility.

Herodotus has *ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν* (iii. 4), and *ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγήν* (iv. 179).

3. **ὥσπερ καί**—ch. 44, 10: ch. 92, 2. **οὗτοι**—so iv. 44, 3, *τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσι τῶν Κορινθίων...τούτοις οὐ κατάδηλος ἡ μάχη ἦν.* It has been suggested to read *οὕτω*, as in ch. 59, 20.

4. **ἔστι δέ**—parenthetical; *οὐ γὰρ...οὗτοι δεινοί* being answered by *ἀλλ' ἤν*, sc. *οὗτοι δεινοί* or *τοῦτο δεινόν*. Some editors put a stop before *ἔστι*, making the opposition between *οὐ πρός...*, and *ἀλλ' ἤν*. The sense is against this, as it would imply that the Melians were already *ὑπήκοοι* and the Athenians *ἄρξαντες*, which was not the case. The insertion of a parenthetical clause is also thoroughly Thucydidean.

5. **ὁ ἀγών** = we are not *now* contending with Sparta: for a similar use of the article cf. ch. 101, 2: ch. 110, 3.

6. **αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι**—cf. Cleon's arguments for punishing the Mytileneans, iii. 39 and 40. He especially insists on the danger arising from the unprovoked character of their insurrection; *ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀδικούμενοι—προϋπάρξαντες ἀδικίας*, etc.

7. **ἀφείσθω**—'let it be left to us'. **κινδυνεύεσθαι**—impersonal passive, as in i. 73, 2, *ἐπὶ ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο*: so iv. 19, 1, *διακινδυνεύεσθαι.*

ib. **ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ**—the order is emphatic, 'that it is with a view to advantage we are here, the advantage that is of our empire', etc.

10. **ἀπόνως**—without the trouble of war. **ἄρξαι**—'to become your lords'; so *δουλεῦσαι* 'to submit to your yoke', in the next chapter, *ὑπακοῦσαι*; ch. 93, etc. **χρησίμως**—with *ἀμφοτέροις.*

CHAPTER XCII

1. **χρήσιμον**—note the adjective with *ξυμβαίη*: vi. 34, 9, *χρησιμώτατον ἂν ξυμβῆναι*: so especially *τοιοῦτος*, i. 74, 1, *τοιούτου ξύμβαντος τούτου*: vii. 30 fin. etc. Here, *ξυμβαίνειν* may have the idea of *coinciding* interests.

2. **ὥσπερ καί**—so ch. 91, 3: cf. ch. 13, 8 note.

CHAPTER XCIII

The Athenians hint significantly enough that resistance is hopeless, and will involve terrible calamities.

2. **γένοιτο**—γίγνεσθαι here = *contingere, licere*. Krüger compares Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, 13, *ἐγένετο καὶ Ἕλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι*: id. *Cyr.* vi. 3, 11, *ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, λαβεῖν μοι γένοιτο αὐτόν.*

CHAPTER XCIV

The Melians suggest the possibility of a strict neutrality on their part being acceptable.

1. **ὥστε δέ**—'but on condition that...would you not accept us?' or 'would you not accept such terms?' For *ὥστε* of conditions cf. ch. 17, 14: and for *δέχομαι* ch. 32, 24. *ὥστε δέ* is the reading of some manuscripts but not of the majority. It is probably right, as *δέ* is used in a similar way in the beginning of cc. 96 and 98. If *ὥστε* only be read, it goes with *οὐκ ἂν δέξαισθε*, on which the infinitive construction *φίλους εἶναι* then depends: cf. i. 143, 2, *οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τὴν αὑτοῦ φεύγειν.* The sentence is thus a timid suggestion on the part of the Melians, 'so that...you would not agree to our being neutral', or 'would you not agree?'

3. **δέξαισθε**—so most editors for *δέξοισθε*, which has the best manuscript authority, and is retained by Classen. This would be a strange use of the future optative = *οὐκ ἂν μέλλοιτε δέξεσθαι*; 'would you not be likely to accept us?' No similar instance is quoted; indeed the future optative with *ἄν* is unknown. For its legitimate use see Goodwin § 128—134.

CHAPTER XCV

The Athenians reply that to accept such an offer would be a manifest proof of weakness.

1. **οὐ γάρ**— = 'no, for' etc. **ὅσον ἡ φιλία**—in this extraordinary sentence *φιλία* does double duty, first as the subject

of the verb and then in apposition, while *τὸ μῖσος* corresponds appositionally to *ἡ ἔχθρα*, the order of *φιλία* and *ἔχθρα* being reversed. 'Verba sic resolvenda sunt, *ὅσον ἡ φιλία, ἡ μὲν ἀσθενείας παράδειγμα οὖσα, τὸ δὲ μῖσος...δηλούμενον*' (Poppo). Possibly *ἡ φιλία, ἡ μέν* should actually be read for *ἡ φιλία μέν*: but more likely the sentence grew up in some such way as this—(1) *οὐ τοσοῦτον βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν ὅσον ἡ φιλία*: (2) *ὅσον ἡ φιλία, ἀσθενείας παράδειγμα οὖσα*: (3) *ὅσον ἡ φιλία μὲν...τὸ δὲ μῖσος*, 'your enmity does not injure us so much as your friendship, being on the one hand a proof of weakness, your hatred being etc.'

Cleon utters similar sentiments, e.g. iii. 39, 5, *πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος τὸ μὲν θεραπεῦον ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑπεῖκον θαυμάζειν*: cf. oderint dum metuant (Krüger).

CHAPTER XCVI

Are friendly relations then, ask the Melians, between you and the Greek islanders, an invariable proof of weakness? Is there no difference between strangers and your own colonists?

2. **τούς τε μὴ προσήκοντας**—'those who have no connexion with you', and on whom you have no claim. **ὅσοι...οἱ πολλοί ...τινές**—a notable instance of appositional construction, 'all who, being *mostly* colonists, and having revolted *in some cases*'; cf. iv. 62, 2, *πλείους ἤδη...ἐλπίσαντες ἕτεροι*.

4. **κεχείρωνται**—'the verb does not apply strictly to *ἄποικοι*, but only to *τινές*, and under the influence of *ἀποστάντες* is used instead of a more general verb, such as *ἄρχονται*' (Jowett).

ib. **ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν**—'put under the same head, reckon together'; iv. 73, 2, *καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἂν τίθεσθαι*: see Liddell and Scott, *τίθημι* B. ii. 3, for various phrases with *εἰς*, *ἐν*, adverbs etc. In Latin we have a similar usage of *traho*, *ibidem traho*, *traho ad*, *in*; e.g. Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 10, ibidem una traho, 'I count it under the same head'.

CHAPTER XCVII

No, reply the Athenians; our subjects are convinced that all such things are mere questions of material strength.

1. **δικαιώματι**—'in plea of justice', 'rationes quibus suam causam tueantur'; i. 41, 1, *δικαιώματα τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν.* The dative is not elsewhere in Thucydides found with **ἐλλείπειν**, which takes the genitive, i. 80, 4, *πολλῷ ἔτι πλέον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν* (where Krüger reads *τούτῳ*): ii. 61, 4, *τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δόξης ἐλλείπει.* The construction is however not unreasonable, as the dative denotes that *in which* the deficiency occurs; and a genitive of the person, *ἄλλων* or *ὑμῶν*, is virtually implied. It may also be supported by such constructions as ch. 72, 10, *τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ ἐλασσωθέντες*: so vi. 69, 1, *τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐλλιπεῖς.* Krüger suggests reading *ἐλλιπεῖς* here. One manuscript has *δικαιώματα*, and this would go well either with the accusative or *οὐδετέροις.*

2. **κατὰ δύναμιν**—lit. 'in accordance with'. It is a question of material strength and power, not of abstract justice. **περιγίγνεσθαι** = 'escape submission'; *ἐλευθέρους μένειν*, as explained by the scholiast.

3. **ἔξω**—ch. 26, 13: i. 9, 7 etc. Thuc. and Hdt., also Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, 10. **καὶ τοῦ** seems awkward; should it be *τοῦ καί*? Note aorist **ἄρξαι**, as in ch. 91, 10.

5. **νησιῶται ναυκρατόρων**—these words are put together for the sake of antithesis, *ναυκρατόρων* being dependent grammatically on *περιγένοισθε*, 'especially as you are islanders while we are lords of the sea, weaker islanders too than others, should you not escape submission (get the better of us)'.

In vi. 82, 2, according to the manuscript reading, there is a still harsher construction, *ἡμεῖς Ἴωνες ὄντες Πελοποννησίοις Δωριεῦσι...ἐσκεψάμεθα ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἥκιστα αὐτῶν ὑπακουσόμεθα.* There *Δωριεῦσι* is first put out of its place for the sake of antithesis, and then the construction changes. For the juxtaposition cf. vi. 6, 3, *Δωριῆς δὲ Δωριεῦσι...βοηθήσαντες.*

CHAPTER XCVIII

The Melians now point out the probable danger to Athens of her overbearing policy.

1. **ἐν δ' ἐκείνῳ**—either (1) 'in the former case', i.e. in the neutrality proposed in ch. 94; or (2) like *illud*, referring to what is coming, *ὅσοι γάρ κ.τ.λ.* (2) seems more probable, as *δέ* in this dialogue generally introduces a fresh point or suggestion. The meaning affects the sense to be given to **οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν**, either (1) sc. *εἶναι*, 'do you think there is no security?', or (2) do you not take safety into consideration?'.

2. **δεῖ γάρ...πείθειν**—parenthetical. **αὖ καὶ ἐνταῦθα**—as well as in the case suggested in ch. 90. **ἐκβιβάσαντες** –Classen reads *ἐκβιάσαντες*, and *ἐκβιάζοιεν* in vi. 64, 1, with some MSS. authority. *ἐκβιάζω* however is not found before Plutarch (passive Soph. *Phil.* 1129), while *ἐκβιβάζω* has better classical authority, but only in its literal sense (vii. 39, 2: Hdt. vii. 130: Xen. etc.).

3. **τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ**—'to be subservient to your interests'; iv. 87, 2, *τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὔνῳ βλάπτωνται.* **τὸ αὐτό** may be appositional with *χρήσιμον*, 'at the same time', like *idem*; as in iv. 17, 1, *ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν τε ὠφέλιμον ὂν τὸ αὐτὸ πείθωμεν.* **ξυμβαῖνον**– the regular participial construction with *τυγχάνω*. Poppo says 'simul audi *χρήσιμον*', as in ch. 92. *ξυμβαίνειν* is indeed used in the sense of turning out well, as in iii. 3, 3, *ἢν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα*, but *ὑμῖν ξυμβαῖνον* by itself can scarcely mean 'expedient for you'.

6. **μηδετέροις**—*μή* shows that *ὅσοι = εἴ τινες*: cf. ch. 110, 6. In ch. 30, 13, where definite persons are meant, *ὅσοι* is followed by *οὐ*. **πῶς οὐ**—'must you not make them your enemies?' *πολεμοῦσθαι* is elsewhere passive, as twice in i. 57, 1. Sometimes forms may come either from *πολεμοῦσθαι* or *πολεμεῖσθαι*, for instance *πολεμοῦνται*, iv. 20, 3.

8. **τάδε**—i.e. our case, what is doing here. Note the emphatic position of **ποτε**: they will feel that the day will come when they too will be assailed: vi. 78, 4, *τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποτε βουληθείη αὖθις φθονῆσαι.*

9. **κἀν τούτῳ**—'herein', i.e. hereby: slightly different ii. 8, 3: iv. 14, 2, etc. For **τί ἄλλο ἤ** see note on ch. 87, 2. **μεγαλύνετε**—'strengthen', in numbers etc.: in vi. 28, 2, of magnifying a crime. **μελλήσοντας**—In ch. 30, 4, we have the aorist infinitive following the present of *μέλλειν*: so vi. 30, 2. Many editors however adopt the correction *μελλήσαντας*, which is supported by the scholiast's explanation *διανοηθέντας*.

11. **ἐπάγεσθε**—'bring on yourselves' as enemies: vi. 10, 1, *πολεμίους ἐπαγαγέσθαι*.

CHAPTER XCIX

The Athenians reply that they do not fear the hostility of large powers so much as the insubordinate spirit of islanders.

2. **τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ**—dative of the cause, 'from their freedom', i.e. freedom from Athenian rule or the danger of it. The idea is that the mainland cities would be free from the feeling of imminent peril, which might at any time drive the islanders to desperate risks. Stahl suggests *τῶν ἐλευθέρων*, comparing vii. 44, 8, *ὅσοι ἦσαν τῶν προτέρων στρατιωτῶν*. **διαμέλλησις** is not found elsewhere: the verb occurs i. 142, 1 etc.

4. **ἀλλά**—following *οὐ* and the comparative; i. 83, 1, *ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον ἀλλὰ δαπάνης*: so ii. 43, 2 etc.

ib. **τοὺς νησιώτας τέ που**—Krüger alters *που* into *τούς*, and the article seems certainly required; unless indeed *ἀνάρκτους ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς* (sc. *ὄντας*) can be taken as a predicate.

5. **καὶ τοὺς ἤδη**—'and those who are already exasperated by the constraint of our empire'. The subject allies are meant; see i. 76, 77, where the Athenians point out that the rule of sovereign states must needs be galling in time of war. Classen misunderstands this passage, taking *παροξυνομένους* to refer to the *ἄναρκτοι* who were 'already made desperate' by the 'inevitable danger' (*τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ*) of Athenian empire. With this view he proposes to leave out *τε* after *νησιώτας* and *τούς* before *ἤδη*. The next chapter however shows conclusively that *οἱ δουλεύοντες ἤδη* are meant.

6. **πλεῖστα ἐπιτρέψαντες**—Hdt. iii. 36, 1, *μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτρεπε*: in both passages the verb appears to have an active force. Sometimes the accusative is not expressed, Hom. *Il.* x. 79, *ἐπέτρεπε γήραϊ λυγρῷ* (the only instance in Homer): Plat. *Legg.* 802 B, *ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.*

7. **ἐς προὖπτον κίνδυνον**—Hdt. ix. 17, *προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν*: Aesch. etc. For the construction cf. ii. 100, 6, *ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν.* Classen quotes other instances with *ἐς.*

CHAPTER C

The Melians now urge that tame submission would be most dishonourable.

1. **ἦ που ἄρα**—'surely then'; i. 142, 1, *ἦ που δή*, 'much more': vi. 37, 3, *ἦ πού γε δή.* For *ἄρα*, stating an inference subjectively, see Liddell and Scott. Note the emphatic force of **γε** twice in this sentence.

2. **μὴ παυθῆναι**—the infinitives express purpose and follow *τὴν παρακινδύνευσιν ποιοῦνται* (Goodwin § 770). **ἀρχῆς**—so iii. 40, 4, *παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς.* **παρακινδύνευσις** is only found here; the verb occurs twice in Thucydides, and is not uncommon elsewhere. The preposition gives the idea of reckless venture.

5. **πᾶν ἐπεξελθεῖν**—'to do and suffer anything' (Jowett). Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1, 18, *οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι*; ib. *πάντα ποιητέον*: Soph. *O. T.* 260, *ἐπὶ πάντ' ἀφίξομαι.* For the accusative construction, cf. i. 70, 4, *ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξέλθωσιν.* **πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι**—'before submitting to your yoke': or is *πρό* used of choice, as in ch. 36, 18?

CHAPTER CI

Not so, reply the Athenians; honour does not require you to contend against hopeless odds.

1. **οὐκ, ἤν γε**—so iii. 66 fin. **ὁ ἀγών**—'you are not now contending' etc.; see note on ch. 91, 4. The infinitives are explanatory of the purpose, as in ch. 100. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου**—opposed to *πρὸς τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῷ.* **αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν**—'to incur disgrace, forfeit honour'.

CHAPTER CII

The Melians suggest that their case is not absolutely hopeless, as the chances of warfare are uncertain.

1. **τὰ τῶν πολέμων**—ii. 11, 3, *ἄδηλα τὰ τῶν πολέμων*: see also i. 78. **κοινοτέρας**—'more impartial'; in which sense *κοινός* is applied to persons iii. 53, 2: *κοινῇ* (perhaps) iv. 83, 4. '*κοιναὶ τύχαι* sunt casus, qui utrisque possunt accidere, adeoque incerti, ancipites, inexspectati, si accidunt potentioribus quae accidere posse non putares' (Göller): Lys. ii. 10, *τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας κοινὰς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες*: Plut. *Nic.* 27, *κοιναὶ αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου*. So Hom. *Il.* xviii. 309, *ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος, καί τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα*: cf. Cic. *Sest.* 5, 12, *communem martem belli metuenti*, where see Holden's note.

2. **ἔστιν ὅτε**—'at times'; see note on *ἔστιν ᾗ*, iv. 32, 3. **τὰς τύχας**—the fortunes, various phases of war, on several occasions; i. 78, 1: iv. 18, 4, *ὡς ἂν αἱ τύχαι ἡγήσωνται*. **λαμβάνοντα**—apparently 'receiving' or 'admitting of'. *ἔχοντα* might almost be substituted; but *ἔχω* would imply what is inherent and invariable, while *λαμβάνω* only suggests what sometimes happens. Classen cites vi. 86, 3, *ὅταν καιρὸν λάβωσιν*, 'when they get an opportunity', but this is not a similar usage.

ib. **ἢ κατά**—'than might be expected from', lit. 'corresponding to' etc.: i. 76, 3, *δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν*. **εὐθύς** seems to belong to **ἀνέλπιστον**, as **ἔτι** does to **ἐλπίς**, but the position is ambiguous.

4. **μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένου**—so *μετὰ κινδύνων* commonly: vi. 16, 3, *ἐκ τοῦ δρωμένου*. For this use of the participle see note on ch. 9, 14: cf. ii, 63, 1, *τῆς πόλεως τῷ τιμωμένῳ βοηθεῖν*.

5. **ὀρθῶς**—with **στῆναι**: some suggest *ὀρθούς* or *ὀρθοῖς*.

CHAPTER CIII

The Athenians reply by urging the great danger the Melians incur by risking their all on one vague chance.

1. **κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὖσα**—the sense required is 'an encouragement to risk', rather than 'a solace (relief) to danger'. Whether this meaning can be fairly derived from the dative construction is doubtful. It scarcely corresponds to such phrases as *δόσις θεοῖς* Plat. *Euthyph.* 17 C: *διακονία πόλει Rep.* 493 D: for we could not say *παραμυθεῖσθαι κινδύνῳ*, though we can say *διδόναι θεοῖς*. *παραμύθιον* is commonly found with the genitive, and Krüger here reads *κινδύνου*.

2. **ἀπὸ περιουσίας**—'with plenty to fall back on', not risking their all. For *ἀπό* see ch. 89, 9. **χρωμένους αὐτῇ**—lit. 'having recourse to her', or 'associating with her', hope being personified: Ar. *Vesp.* 1028, *τὰς Μούσας αἷσιν χρῆται.*

3. **βλάψῃ...καθεῖλεν**—the metaphor of *στῆναι* in the last chapter is carried on; hope may 'hinder' such men, and check them in their course, but does not 'lay them prostrate.' **καθεῖλεν** is the gnomic aorist, which describes what generally happens because it has happened before; Goodwin § 155.

The following is from Dr Sandys' note on Dem. *Lept.* 471, § 49, where *βλάπτουσιν* is immediately followed by *ἀσφαλῶς*. *βλάπτω* (though not from the same root as *λαμβάνω*) has in old Greek the special meaning of impeding, checking, arresting (*Il.* vi. 39: vii. 271 etc.). Hence it is combined with *φυγεῖν* in Soph. *El.* 697, *ὅταν δέ τις θεῶν βλάπτῃ δύναιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν*: and *Aj.* 455. Even in prose we have what may be fairly regarded as a reminiscence, possibly a half unconscious reminiscence, of the older use of the word: as in the present passage of Thucydides; and in vii. 68, 3, *κινδύνων οὗτοι σπανιώτατοι, οἳ ἂν ἥκιστα ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι βλάπτοντες πλεῖστα διὰ τὸ εὐτυχῆσαι ὠφελῶσιν.*

ib. **τοῖς δ'...ἀναρριπτοῦσι**—'but as for those who stake their all on the cast', lit. throw the die, run the risk, so as to extend to their all: iv. 92, 4, *ἐς πᾶσαν εἷς ὅρος παγήσεται*, 'one limit will be fixed, extending to and including all our land'. With *ἀναρριπτοῦσι* is to be understood *κίνδυνον*: iv. 85, 2: iv. 95, 1. Classen reads *ἀναρριπτοῦσα* agreeing with *ἐλπίς*, but the alteration does not seem to improve the grammar or the sense. *ἀναρριπτεῖν* is used of the person who incurs the risk, not of hope which causes it.

4. **δάπανος**—sc. ἐλπίς ἐστιν: according to Lid. and Scott, a rare form of the adjective, which is usually δαπανηρός. **ἅμα τε**—'she is found out when they are ruined' (lit. tripped up and brought to the ground), not before. ἅμα goes with the participle, which is in the genitive absolute, sc. αὐτῶν.

5. **καὶ...οὐκ ἐλλείπει**—most editors take ἐλλείπει transitively, 'she leaves no room for one to guard against her afterwards when she is found out', i.e. her delusive character is not found out till recovery is hopeless. In support of this view may be cited Soph. *El.* 736, ἐλλελειμμένον 'left *in*': Eur. *El.* 609, οὐδ' ἐλλέλοιπας ἐλπίδ', 'nor have you left ground for hope'. So προσέχω is occasionally found in the sense 'to have besides', as in Plat. *Rep.* 521 D.

Poppo however takes ἐλλείπει here in its usual sense of failing, and ἐν ὅτῳ to mean 'whilst', as ἐξ ὅτου is used of time by Xenophon. This seems the simpler view; and the sense is excellent; that men continue to hope till their condition is desperate. On the other hand the future φυλάξεται seems more appropriate to a dependent relative construction.

6. ὅ—ch. 107, 3: 109, 3. **ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς μιᾶς**—Eur. *Hip.* 1164, δέδορκε φῶς ἐπὶ σμικρᾶς ῥοπῆς: Soph. *Trach.* 82, ἐν ῥοπῇ τοιᾷδε κειμένῳ. The metaphorical use of ῥοπή, 'a turn of the scale', is frequent both in prose and verse.

7. **μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν**—'do not let this be your case': Plat. *Phaedr.* 236 C, μὴ βούλου: so *noli*, *nolite*. The whole phrase is equivalent to 'do not you act thus unadvisedly': see note on παθεῖν, iv. 17, 4.

8. **οἷς παρόν**—the usual form, not οἷ, παρὸν (αὐτοῖς): so in Latin, *cui* cum nuntiatum esset, Romam advolavit. For **ἀνθρωπείως** see note on ch. 89, 9. **καθίστανται**—'betake themselves' = καταφεύγουσι (schol.).

12. **μετ' ἐλπίδων**—'combined with hopes', i.e. by encouraging vague hopes. **λυμαίνεται**—'ruin men,' 'are their bane.'

CHAPTER CIV

The Melians urge that their hopes are not absolutely unreasonable. Heaven will defend their righteous cause; and Sparta will aid them as allies and kinsmen.

3. **εἰ μὴ...ἔσται**—sc. *ἡ τύχη*: 'if it shall not be impartial'. According to some *ἀγωνίζεσθαι* is to be supplied, 'if we shall not be able to contend'. **τῇ μὲν τύχῃ**—cf. ch. 112, 8, which suggests that the dative is governed by *πιστεύομεν*, the following infinitive being explanatory: otherwise we should naturally take it with *ἐλασσώσεσθαι*, as in ch. 72, 10, which would make the general construction of the sentence more regular.

5. **ὅσιοι**—only here of persons; 'righteous', observant of *τὸ ὅσιον* (iii. 84, 2). **ἱστάμεθα**—'we take our stand'; i. 53, 2, *ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι.* Here *ἵστασθαι πρός* denotes opposition. Poppo points out that it generally has a different meaning, as in iv. 56, 4, *πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἕστασαν.*

6. **τῷ ἐλλείποντι**—dependent on *προσέσεσθαι*, as is **ἡμῖν** though less directly, and with an ethical force. In illustration of the double dative, Krüger cites Eur. *Hel.* 1248, *τί σοι παράσχω δῆτα τῷ τεθνηκότι*; what service am I to do for you to the dead?

9. **αἰσχύνῃ**—= *διὰ τὸ αἰσχρόν*, ch. 105, 14: because they were bound in honour, as we should say.

CHAPTER CV

The Athenians reply that they are doing nothing to forfeit the favour of heaven; and the Melians cannot trust for help the Spartan sense of honour.

1. **πρὸς τὸ θεῖον**—Krüger suggests *τοῦ θείου* and Meineke *περὶ τὸ θεῖον.* Classen however seems to give the right explanation. The Athenians are speaking not only of the favour they would receive *from* heaven, but of the general terms on which they stood *with* the divinity. Their relations with the gods were as good as any one's, for there was nothing unusual in their conduct. Relationship generally is expressed

by πρός, see note on iv. 80, 2: cf. iv. 51, ποιησάμενοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πίστεις, etc. = 'having secured pledges from the Athenians': Dem. *de Cor.* 237 § 36, τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει.

2. **οὐδ' ἡμεῖς**—any more than you; an answer to ὅτι ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ἱστάμεθα, ch. 104, 5.

3. **ἀνθρωπείας**—this adjective belongs to both nouns, 'there is nothing in our claims or in our conduct beyond what men hold in regard to the divinity and will as regards themselves': cf. ii. 44, 2, οἳ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσι...οἵδε μὲν τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης. **νόμισις**, which is only found here in Thucydides, is explained by ἡγούμεθα δόξῃ in the next sentence, and therefore denotes current belief and accepted opinion. Classen however follows the scholiast in understanding it of the observances of religion, τὰ νενομισμένα, τὰ εἰθισμένα. **βούλησις**—'will and purpose', tending to policy and action, ἡ εἰς ἀνθρώπους προαίρεσις, as the scholiast explains.

5. **ἡγούμεθα δόξῃ...σαφῶς**—'we hold in point of opinion... as an obvious fact'. **διὰ παντός**—always, continually; i. 38, 1, etc. **θέντες**—cf. Hdt. vii. 8, οὔτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθείς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. All this is an echo of the Athenian speech at Sparta in 432; see i. 76. Note the prominence of the participial clauses in this sentence.

10. **εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν...ἂν**—ἂν is repeated 'in a long sentence, to make the conditional force felt through the whole, especially when the connexion is broken by intermediate clauses. It may also be done in order to emphasize particular words with which it is joined, and to make them prominent, as being affected by the contingency' (Goodwin, § 223).

11. **ἡμῖν**—i.e. the same that we have: so with genitive, as in iv. 92, 4, ἐπικινδυνότερον ἑτέρων τὴν παροίκησιν τῶνδε ἔχομεν, 'than that of others'.

ib. **αὐτό**—'it' or 'this'; cf. ch. 27, 4. Classen follows Stahl in reading ταὐτό.

13. **ἐλασσώσεσθαι**—this is a singular instance of the future infinitive with a verb of fearing. Here the construction

with *μή* might be expected; but probably the infinitive has to some extent the nature of an object = 'we regard without fear the prospect of coming off the worse'. Such instances as i. 136, 1, *δεδιέναι ἔχειν αὐτόν*, 'to be afraid of keeping him', iv. 110, 3, *κατέδεισαν ἐσελθεῖν*, 'were afraid to enter', are different. There the infinitive denotes the direct object of the verb; and *μὴ ἐσέλθωσιν*, for instance, could not be substituted. See Goodwin, § 372 sq. As a general principle the future infinitive is a favourite Thucydidean usage when the intention is 'to make the reference to the future especially prominent'; Goodwin, § 113.

ib. **τῆς...δόξης**—dependent on both *τὸ ἀπειρόκακον* and *τὸ ἄφρον*: the subjective genitive **ὑμῶν** also belongs to both.

14. **ἣν...πιστεύετε**—the conjecture *ᾗ* is tempting, but the cognate construction is scarcely harsher than *βούλησιν ἐλπίζει*, vi. 78, 2: cf. *ἃ* ch. 9, 18. **μακαρίσαντες**—'we felicitate you on your guilelessness but do not envy your folly'.

18. **πλεῖστα**—i. 3, 4, *πλείω χρώμενοι*: ii. 11, 5, *λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι.* **πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους**—dependent on *προσφέρονται*, and placed first to emphasize the antithesis.

19. **πολλὰ ἄν**—Poppo compares Dem. *Olynth.* iii. 36, *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν*: *de Chers.* *πάντα τἄλλ' εἰπὼν ἂν ἡδέως.* **ξυνελών**—iii. 40, 4, *ἐν δὲ ξυνελὼν λέγω*, etc. **ὧν ἴσμεν**—i. 18, 1, *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον.*

22. **πρός**—'in favour of'; ch. 90, 6. **ἀλόγου**—which you cannot reasonably expect; cf. Dem. *Aristocr.* 672 § 158, *τυγχάνει ταύτης τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρίας.* This clause answers the end of the last chapter. **ἡ τοιαύτη διάνοια**—such principles as these.

CHAPTER CVI

But, say the Melians, their own interest will make the Spartans help us.

1. **κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο**—'in accordance with this very thing', or 'on this very point', that is the Lacedaemonians' regard to

their interests: Soph. *Phil.* 438, *κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτό γε ἀναξίου μὲν φωτὸς ἐξερήσομαι.* **ἤδη**—apparently 'now that we are come to this point': Krüger suggests *δή*. **καὶ μάλιστα**—ch. 73, 21.

2. **τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν**—probably dependent on *πιστεύομεν*, as a similar construction occurs in 104, 4: 111, 6: 112, 8. It may however be taken with the following words, as dative of the cause, like *τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ*, ch. 99, 2. *αὑτῶν* has been proposed, but Classen justly points out that *τῷ αὑτῶν ξυμφέροντι* would be required; see note on ch. 71, 3. Why not connect *αὐτῶν* with *ἀποίκους ὄντας*? It would give a forcible sense.

4. **καταστῆναι**—to make themselves, put themselves in a certain position. It implies something more permanent than *γενέσθαι.*

CHAPTER CVII

The interests of the Spartans will not lead them into danger.

1. **οὔκουν οἴεσθε**—'you do not then think', i.e. you seem to forget; so most editors; Classen makes the sentence interrogative, 'do you not think?' i.e. of course you do. **μετὰ κινδύνου δρᾶσθαι**—simply 'involve danger (in doing)'. Poppo takes *οἴεσθε* as = *οἴεσθε δεῖν*, a force which some give to *νομίζειν* iv. 86, 4: iv. 117, 1. In those passages however no such sense is required, and here it is entirely out of place. For *δρᾶσθαι* the reading of nearly all MSS. is *δρᾶσαι*. Jowett would retain this, supplying *τινά* as subject.

CHAPTER CVIII

Their interests, say the Melians, will surely impel them to stand by their own colony.

1. **καί**—emphasizes *κινδύνους*. The following *τε* is suspicious. Classen, comparing ch. 82, 16, considers that it connects the two infinitive clauses.

2. **ἐγχειρίσασθαι**—'undertake'; the middle is not found elsewhere before Dio Cassius.

3. **βεβαιοτέρους**—'will consider such risks less hazardous than (if undertaken) in the case of others'. **βέβαιος** seems a strange word to apply to *κίνδυνος*: cf. however iii. 39, 6, *τὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀλίγων κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιότερον*. So we say 'a safe speculation'. **ἐς** is used by Thucydides in the most general way to denote relation of any kind. Krüger and Poppo suggest leaving out *ἐς*, referring *βεβαιοτέρους* to *ἡμᾶς*, but the parallel passage supports the text.

4. **τὰ ἔργα**—the operations which war would involve. **τῆς γνώμης τῷ ξυγγενεῖ**—lit. 'from kinship of views'; being of the same stock they had the same interests and policy. *γνώμη* is used of political views, iv. 56 fin. *πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἕστασαν*, etc. The expression is awkward, and it is tempting to take *τῷ ξυγγενεῖ* separately; in which case we must read *τῇ γνώμῃ* or *τὴν γνώμην*, for, though *certus animi* is good Latin, *πιστὸς γνώμης* is unknown in Greek.

CHAPTER CIX

Not so, when they have no prospect of support in the event of war.

1. **τὸ ἐχυρόν**—'security'; predicate with the article: ii. 43, 4, *τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον κρίναντες*: Plat. *Gorg.* 498, *τὰ ἀγαθὰ φῂς εἶναι τὰς ἡδονὰς κακὰ δὲ τὰς ἀνίας* (Krüger's *Grammar*, § 50, 4, 14).

2. **ἀλλ' ἤν**—so ch. 91, 5. **τῶν ἔργων δυνάμει**—i. 25, 4, *χρημάτων δυνάμει*: i. 82, 2, *ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων δύναμιν*. Here the genitive = *τῶν πρὸς τὰ ἔργα*.

3. **ὅ**—ch. 103, 6. **καὶ πλεῖόν τι**—*καὶ* emphatic, as in ch. 73, 21. *πλέον* and *πλεῖον* are often used for *μᾶλλον*, *τὸ πλέον* is more common. *τι* has an intensive force, as in *μέρος τι*, etc.: so vii. 21, 4, *πλέον τι περιεσομένους*.

5. **καὶ μετὰ ξυμμάχων**—lit. '(not alone but) also with' etc. So in the speech of Pericles, ii. 39, 2, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι...μετὰ πάντων ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι*.

7. **εἰκὸς...περαιωθῆναι**—i. 81 fin. *εἰκὸς δουλεῦσαι*: where Krüger collects the instances of this construction, and observes that the future infinitive is not found with *εἰκός* in Thucydides.

CHAPTER CX

But they may use the help of naval allies, and may themselves attack the Athenian dependencies.

1. **ἄλλους**—e.g. the Corinthians, their chief naval allies, ii. 9, 2. **πολὺ δέ**—vii. 13, 3, *πολλὴ δὲ ἡ Σικελία*: Plat. *Phaed.* 78 A, *πολλὴ ἡ Ἕλλας*. The 'Cretan Sea' (iv. 53 fin.) is the sea E. and S.E. of Laconia. **δι' οὗ**—i. 2, 1, *οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης*.

2. **τῶν κρατούντων...ἡ σωτηρία**—cf. the use of the article ch. 91, 4. The lords of the sea will find it harder to catch their foes than the foes to effect their escape. For the form **ἀπορώτερος** cf. iii. 89, 4, *βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν*: iii. 101, 2, *δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς*. Krüger says that these are the only instances he knows in Attic prose; *εὐσκεπαστότατον*, ch. 71, 9, being neuter.

6. **ὅσους μή**—indefinite, such as came under this description, ch. 98, 6; so in the next line. **ἐπῆλθεν**—'visited', not 'attacked': iv. 85, 1, *εἰ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐπήλθομεν, μηδεὶς μεμφθῇ*, in Brasidas' speech at Acanthus: ib. § 3, *ἐπὶ οὓς πρῶτον ἤλθον ὑμᾶς*.

8. **ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς**—these words are found in all the manuscripts, and it is therefore improbable that they are merely interpolated. They seem rather added by the historian as a further explanation of *οἰκειοτέρας*. *ξυμμαχίς* occurs in ch. 36, 1.

CHAPTER CXI

The Athenians reply that such threats will not deter them. They urge on the Melians the immediate necessity of taking a practical view of their interests. They have no real grounds to hope for escape; and their only safe course is to accept the reasonable terms which Athens offers.

1. **τούτων μέν**—'you too may learn by experience something of this', i.e. of the hopelessness of deterring us by threats of counter-attacks or invasion. The construction resembles ii. 60, 1, *προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς γεγένηται*: iv. 28, 5, *ἀσμένοις ἐγίγνετο*: ii. 3, 2, *τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν*. So *πεπειραμένῳ γίγνεται* = it is a thing that one has experienced; the perfect implying that knowledge comes when the experience has been undergone. **τούτων** refers either to the suggested threats of the Melians or to the Athenian boast, *ὅτι οὐδ' κ.τ.λ.* **καὶ ὑμῖν**—as well as to others before you.

Stahl and Classen read **γένοιτο ἡμῖν, καὶ ὑμῖν**, 'if such a thing (as invasion) occurred it would be one of which *we* have experience, and *you* too may not be unaware etc.'

2. **οὐδ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς**—emphatic; it is the only instance of *οὐδείς* or *μηδείς* separated in Thucydides. In i. 105, and iii. 26, we find sieges continued by the Athenians in spite of counter-demonstrations.

4. **ἐνθυμούμεθα**—according to Classen, 'we observe with regret'; the word at any rate always implies serious consideration. **φήσαντες**—'after you professed'; cf. *φάσκοντες* ch. 42, 21.

6. **ἄνθρωποι**—see ch. 89, 9. **νομίσειαν**—Classen reads this instead of *νομίσαιεν* as the proper Thucydidean form; so iii. 49, 2, *φθάσειαν* for *φθάσαιεν*.

7. **ὑμῶν...μέλλεται**—'your strongest grounds are hopes deferred' (Jowett). *μέλλεται*, lit. 'are a future matter', the passive as it were of *μέλλετε ταῦτα* cognate. The passive of *μέλλω* occurs twice besides; Dem. *Phil.* i. 50, § 37, *ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται*, 'are going to be done': Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1, 47, *ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα.* Krüger cites also Soph. *O. T.* 1628, *πάλαι τἀπὸ σοῦ βραδύνεται.*

8. **βραχέα...περιγίγνεσθαι**—**πρός** is closely connected with **βραχέα**, 'slight in comparison with'; ii. 35, 2, *ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεται.* For the following infinitive cf. i. 50, 5, *νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν*: i. 61, 2, *ταπεινὴ ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν.* Such explanatory infinitives are particularly joined with adjectives which imply ability or the opposite (Goodwin, § 758). They have in effect a sort of comparative force = *βραχύτερα ἢ ὥστε.*

9. **πολλήν τε**—'and so', summing up the argument. **μεταστησάμενοι**—'after bidding us withdraw', in order to reconsider the matter among yourselves: i. 79, 1, *μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς.* **ἔτι**—'as even now you may' (Jowett). The word affects the whole clause, but its position gives especial emphasis to the participle, deprecating an immediate decision. *ὅμως, ἅμα* and the like are similarly used.

12. **οὐ γὰρ δή**—introducing the final exhortation; cf. i. 122 (fin.), *οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε*: in both sentences the stress falls on the noun, which is the last word but one. **αἰσχροῖς**—'dangers which involve shame', i.e. which threaten national honour, and which it would be shameful to decline. This is the accepted explanation, but it is not quite satisfactory, as, though the various phrases of 'shame' and 'shameful' naturally *follow* the emphatic *αἰσχύνην*, they have no particular force before it. *ἐσχάτοις, ἄκροις, ἰσχυροῖς* are suggested emendations.

14. **πολλοῖς γάρ**—'for many have found' etc.; the Thucydidean initial dative. In construction *πολλοῖς* and *ἡσσηθεῖσι* are usually taken as dependent on **ἐπεσπάσατο**, and **ἑκόντας περιπεσεῖν** as the direct object of *ἐπεσπάσατο*. But *ἐπισπάσασθαι* more naturally means 'drawing on a person to' a course of action, than 'bringing a thing on a person'. It may be then that the grammatical object of the verb is to be found in *πολλοῖς*, the construction being changed, and the literal meaning being 'in the case of many...it drew *them* on to incur'. The middle *ἐπεσπάσατο* is decidedly in favour of this view; and it is adopted by Donaldson, who says 'this use of the dative may be extended to cases where the construction would have admitted of the accusative'. He translates 'in the case of many still foreseeing the tendency of their actions, that which is called dishonour has been an inducement to involve themselves in irremediable disasters'. The aorist is 'gnomic' and general like *καθεῖλε*, ch. 103, 3.

15. **ἐς οἷα φέρονται**—'what they are rushing on' or tending towards; *φέρεσθαι*, like *ferri*, being the regular word for *moving*; see note on iv. 34, 3, *ὑπὸ τοξευμάτων φερομένων.* **ἐπαγωγοῦ**—ch. 85, 4: iv. 88, 1, *διὰ τὸ ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπεῖν τὸν Βρασίδαν.* **ἐπεσπάσατο**—see previous note. The sense required, according to the ordinary view of the clause, is 'brought on them' and there seems then some ground for the conjecture *ἐπέσπασε τό*. In Hdt. iii. 42, *ἵνα ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος*, is 'to win gain for

themselves', and here it may be said that the meaning is 'many have found...that it has won for them' etc., i.e. that this is all they gain by it'. In the other passages of Thucydides where the middle is found it has its proper force, iii. 44, 4: iv. 9, 2. We find the passive, iii. 89, 5: iv. 130, 4.

17. **ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος**—'esse ipsum *turpitudinis* vocabulum docet articulus' (Poppo). For gen. cf. iv. 37, 1, *εἴ πως ἡσσηθεῖεν τοῦ δεινοῦ*. Note the antithesis between *ὀνόματος* and *ῥήματος* and the following *ἔργῳ*. **καὶ αἰσχύνην**—lit. 'and incur too a shame which is more shameful as involving folly than from fortune', i.e. than if it had been due to fortune. **μετά**—like *μετὰ κινδύνων* etc.

19. **ἢ τύχης**—the scholiast has *τύχῃ*, which, as Poppo says, 'propter orationem variatam valde Thucydideum est'. There is however no authority for reading it in the text. The preposition is omitted in the second clause, as is common after a comparative; cf. iii. 44, *περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος μᾶλλον βουλεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ παρόντος*: viii. 96, 2, *ἐξ ἧς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφελοῦντο*. Other instances are given by Poppo on vii. 47, 4, and in Krüger's *Grammar*, § 68, 9: e.g. Xen. *Hel.* ii. 3, 21, *οἱ τριάκοντα πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἕνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων*. **προσλαβεῖν**—'to bring on themselves' rather than 'to get in addition'; so iv. 61, 1, with *κινδύνους*.

ib. **ὁ ὑμεῖς**—ch. 103, 6. **τῆς μεγίστης**—for this emphatic order cf. ch. 18, 57; ii. 61, 4, *ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις*: iv. 10, 1, *κινδύνου τοῦ ταχίστου*. **ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι**—explanatory infinitive, defining the terms proposed.

23. **ὑποτελεῖς**—sc. *φόρου*, as is expressed in i. 19, 1, and i. 80, 3. This was the condition of the great majority of the Athenian so-called allies. See i. 96—99, and the words of Euphemus, vi. 85.

ib. **καὶ...φιλονεικῆσαι**—*καί* answers to *τε*; the whole clause therefore depends on *οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς νομιεῖτε*. **τὰ χείρω**—cognate, with *φιλονεικῆσαι*, 'obstinately to choose the worse': Dem. *Lept.* 501, § 144, *μηδὲν φιλονείκει*. So we have *προθυμεῖσθαι*, *σπεύδειν τι* etc. In Plat. *Protag.* 360 E, we have *φιλονεικεῖν τὸ ἐμὲ εἶναι τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον*, 'to stickle for the answer coming from me' (Wayte): but *πρός* is inserted in the same phrase, *Rep.* 338 A, in accordance with the usual construction. *Phileb.* 14 B, has *πρός* (wrongly cited by Liddell and Scott). The form of

the word, which according to Cobet and others should be νικ-is discussed in Liddell and Scott under φιλόνεικος.

26. **καλῶς προσφέρονται**—'behave with propriety', i.e. with due deference.

28. **καὶ μεταστάντων ἡμῶν**—'etiam semotis nobis, non solum praesentibus' (Poppo). The Athenians deprecate a rash and hasty decision, as in line 10: so infr. **πολλάκις**.

30. **ἣν μιᾶς πέρι**—Poppo calls this 'locus desperatus'; and there is in fact no satisfactory explanation or correction as yet proposed. The general sense is plain. The Melians are exhorted to reflect that they are deliberating concerning the only country they have, and that its fate will be determined by one single decision.

There is very little difference in the manuscript readings. For **ἣν** one manuscript has ἥν, and another ἦν. One omits ἣν μιᾶς πέρι. For **ἔσται** are found ἴστε and ἵσταται. Thus the first and last words are those which are most open to doubt. Possibly both these words are interpolations. Assuming that ἣν found its way into the text from some error, it would be necessary to supply a verb to govern it, and this would account for the variation in the final word. Omitting ἣν and ἔσται we get a sentence which can be construed, 'reflect that you are deliberating about your country, your one only country, and this in one deliberation, as it may turn out well or ill'. Further discussion of the passage may be found in the Appendix.

ib. **ἐς μίαν βουλήν**—'in' or 'at one deliberation'; an idea of 'coming to' or 'looking to' being implied. See Liddell and Scott, εἰς ii. 2, for such phrases as ἐς καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε (Hdt. iv. 139), which have some resemblance to the present instance: cf. Thuc. vi. 16, 6, Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς μίαν ἡμέραν κατέστησα... ἀγωνίσασθαι.

31. **τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν**—'according to its success or failure', i.e. according as you decide well or ill. τε and καί are here disjunctive as noted on ch. 15, 6: cf. ii. 35, 2, εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι. τυχοῦσαν is opposed to μὴ κατορθώσασαν, as in iii. 39, 7, τυχόντες to σφαλέντες, κατορθώσαντι occurring just before in antithesis to σφαλέντι. The active form is regularly used of persons, as an object (πεῖραν, βούλευμα etc.) is implied, κατορθοῦν meaning literally to bring

one's design to a successful issue. Here, taking the reading of the text, the active must go with *βουλήν*. I rather doubt if this can be right: we should expect the passive, as in iv. 76, 4, *εἰ κατορθοῖτο ἡ πεῖρα.*

CHAPTER CXII

The Melians finally refuse to submit, or to concede anything more than a pledge of neutrality.

1. **μετεχώρησαν**—'withdrew'; ii. 72, 5. **ἐκ τῶν λόγων**—'from the conference'; so ch. 113, 2: iv. 58, 1, *ἐς λόγους κατέστησαν ἀλλήλοις*: iv. 73 fin. *ἐς λόγους ἔρχονται.* **κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς**—i. 79, 2, *μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς*: iii. 78, 1, etc.

3. **παραπλήσια καί**—vii. 71, 7, *παραπλήσια καὶ ἔδρασαν*: so *καί* follows *ἴσος* and other words of sameness or likeness; cf. *similis atque*, *ac*, etc. **ἀντέλεγον**—imperfect, referring to the time of the conference; lit. 'what they had been objecting'.

6. **ἑπτακόσια ἔτη**—a rough statement, counting from the supposed time of the establishment of Dorian supremacy in Peloponnesus, the legendary 'return of the Heracleidae'. Melos is said to have been founded some little time later; Grote, Pt. i. ch. 18.

8. **ἐκ τοῦ θείου**—constructed with *σωζούσῃ*, and placed immediately after *τύχῃ* to define its meaning. See ch. 104, 4: 105, 1. In this sentence there is perhaps the same difference between *ἐξ* and *ἀπό*, denoting respectively motion from within and motion from the surface, which is noted by Donaldson on iv. 126, 3.

9. **καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων**—*καὶ* either = *atque*, 'and especially'; or more probably it gives a definition 'even the Lacedaemonians'. This defining or correcting sense of *καί*, = 'in fact, that is to say', is noticed on ch. 20, 3: iv. 33, 1. Jowett says, 'the desire to oppose the single idea *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* to *ἐκ τοῦ θείου* has led to a formal distinction between *ἀνθρώπων* and *Λακεδαιμονίων*, 'from men, and in particular from Lacedaemonians'. **τιμωρίᾳ**—'help'; so three times in i. 25: i. 38, 3 etc.

11. **προκαλούμεθα δὲ ὑμᾶς**—*προκαλεῖσθαι* with the accusative and infinitive is to invite another to do something. Here the regular construction is interrupted by the insertion of a nominative clause, referring to the subject of the sentence, the whole, as Classen says, being equivalent to *προκαλούμεθα ὑμᾶς, ἡμῶν φίλων ὄντων κ.τ.λ., ἀναχωρῆσαι*. Krüger cites two somewhat similar sentences in which the last clause refers to the subject; i. 26, 3, *προεῖπον τοὺς ξένους ἀπιέναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι*: Hdt. ii. 115, *αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους προαγορεύω μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι*.

14. **ἐπιτήδειοι**—elsewhere *ἐπιτήδειος* has three terminations, though a few manuscripts have *ἐπιτηδείους* in ch. 21, 9.

CHAPTER CXIII

The Athenians accordingly break up the conference with significant threats.

2. **διαλυόμενοι ἐκ**—vi. 41 fin. *διελύθησαν ἐκ τοῦ ξυλλόγου*: Hdt. iii. 73, *διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου*. **ἀλλ' οὖν**—'well then', 'well certainly': 'sunt particulae contra dicendi cum asseveratione, *at profecto*' (Poppo). So Plat. *Protag.* 310 A, *ἀλλ' οὖν ἀκούετε*, 'well then, hear'. *ἀλλ' οὖν* (with *γε* commonly following) more usually means 'but, or yet, at any rate', as in Plat. *Protag.* 327 C: Soph. *Ant.* 84. Poppo cites Xen. *Cyr.* i. 4, 19, *ἀλλ' οὖν πονηροί γε φαινόμενοι ἄγουσι ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα*, in illustration of the present passage, but there the sense seems rather 'well but they look but a poor lot to plunder our belongings'.

3. **ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν βουλευμάτων**—'from', i.e. judging from; i. 21, 2, *ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι*: cf. ch. 89, 9. **δοκεῖτε**—ch. 9, 21, note.

6. **τῷ βούλεσθαι**—dative of the cause: cf. a somewhat similar passage in iv. 108, 3, *τὸ πλέον βουλήσει κρίνοντες ἀσαφεῖ ἢ προνοίᾳ ἀσφαλεῖ κ.τ.λ.*

7. **καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις**—the omission of the article gives a somewhat contemptuous force, 'Lacedaemonians and fortune

and hopes': see note on iv. 10, 4. **παραβεβλημένοι**—usually taken as middle, 'having staked, or risked'. *ἐπιτρέψαντες παραβόλως*, as the scholiast explains. In this sense the word is used ii. 44, 3, *παῖδας παραβαλλόμενοι*: iii. 14, 1, *τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους*. Stahl however takes the word as passive, comparing Ar. *Plut.* 243, *πόρναισι καὶ κύβοισι παραβεβλημένος*, 'given over to'. The sense thus obtained is not bad; still, as the idea of risk and hazard perpetually occurs in these chapters, the ordinary rendering seems preferable. The perfect participle denotes the general attitude of the Melians, the aorist *πιστεύσαντες* refers to their decision in the present case. Classen would omit **καί** before **πιστεύσαντες**, 'having risked everything from your trust' etc., as he considers that the datives cannot depend on *παραβεβλημένοι*.

CHAPTER CXIV

3. **οὐδὲν ὑπήκουον**—'showed no sign of submission'; i. 26. 4, *οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν*. **ἐτρέποντο...περιετείχισαν**—Arnold compares ii. 75, 1, *καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περιεσταύρωσεν αὐτούς*. Some editors read *ἐτράποντο*, with slight manuscript authority; but the imperfect is preferable, denoting the beginning and progress of hostile operations.

4. **διελόμενοι**—ch. 75, 23, *διελόμενοι...περιετείχιζον*. Note the different tense of the following verb in the two passages. Here, the aorist *περιετείχισαν* gives an 'end-view', and the Athenians are regarded as having completed their lines round the city. **κατὰ πόλεις**—ii. 78, 1, *διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον*. **κατὰ γῆν κ.τ.λ.**—to be taken with *φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες*.

CHAPTER CXV

1. **'Αργεῖοι**—see ch. 83, 12, for a previous attempt. **τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτόν**—'attende rariorem collocationem pronominis *ὁ αὐτός*: cf. vii. 39, 1, *τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει τῇ αὐτῇ*: Dem. *de Chers.* 93, 14, *μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς*: Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 4, 10' (Poppo). Krüger cites i. 140, 1: and i. 2, 2, *ἄνθρωποι οἱ αὐτοί*.

2. **λοχισθέντες**—iii. 107, 3, *λοχίζει ὁπλίτας*, 'stations them in ambush'. Here the word is used like *λοχᾶν*, as in one or two instances cited by Liddell and Scott from Dio Cassius.

4. **ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα**—the same construction as in ch. 59, 7: cf. also ch. 10, 57. **οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου**—ch. 56, 13. As Pylos was now chiefly held by Lacedaemonian Helots, Krüger would omit **Ἀθηναῖοι**, but it denotes generally those who acted on the Athenian side.

7. **οὐδ' ὥς**—'not even after this': so i. 132, *οὐδ' ὥς ἠξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν* etc. *καὶ ὥς*, i. 44, 2: iii. 33, 1. The negative belongs to both the verb and the participle:—they did not throw up the truce and begin a war. **ἀφέντες**—ch. 78, 8. The truce between Athens and Sparta was not considered to be actually broken till 414, when an Athenian fleet ravaged the coast of Peloponnesus (vi. 105, 1).

ib. **ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἴ τις**—sc. that he should do so, see Poppo on iii. 52, 2: cf. iv. 37, 2, *ἐκήρυξάν τε εἰ βούλοιντο τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι*. **παρὰ σφῶν**—i.e. from Lacedaemonia: ii. 41, 1, *παρ' ἡμῶν*. **λῄζεσθαι**—private depredations of this kind were not considered incompatible with a formal state of peace.

9. **διαφορῶν**—'differences', from *διαφορά*, the manuscript reading. Bekker and others alter it into *διαφόρων*, as *τὰ ἴδια διάφορα* is found ii. 37, 1: *τὰ αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διάφορα*, i. 68, 2: *τὰ ἡμῖν διάφορα*, iv. 87, 1: see ch. 18, 19.

12. **τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν**—i.e. the market in the Athenian camp, where their supplies were stored; i. 62, 1, at Potidaea, *ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο*: iii. 6, at Mytilene, *ναύσταθμον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἡ Μαλέα*.

13. **ἄνδρας**—iv. 132, 3, *τῶν ἡβώντων ἄνδρας ἐξῆγον*: vii. 43, 3, *ἄνδρας τῶν φυλάκων ἀποκτείνουσιν*. **ἐσενεγκάμενοι**—so *ἐσκομίζεσθαι*, vi. 22, 1. **χρήσιμα**—the MSS. reading is *χρήμασι*: hence some read *χρήματα* in the general meaning of supplies: so vi. 49, 3, *τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἀπορήσειν χρημάτων*: vii. 49, 1, *τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν*.

16. **τὸ ἔπειτα**—so iv. 54, 3, *τό τε παραυτίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐπράχθη*: iv. 107, 1, *καὶ τὸ αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα*.

CHAPTER CXVI

2. **μελλήσαντες**—'having intended'; i. 134, 4, *ἐμέλλησαν μὲν...ἔπειτα.* viii. 23, 5, *πεζὸς ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐμέλλησεν ἰέναι.* **τὰ διαβατήρια ἱερά**—cf. ch. 54, 6. Cobet would omit *ἱερὰ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις* as an explanatory gloss, such words not being added elsewhere. For **ἐγίγνετο** see ch. 55, 17.

5. **διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν**—i.e. hearing of their intended attack. **ὑποτοπήσαντες**—altered by Meineke into *ὑποπτεύσαντες*, as *ὑποτοπεῖν* is not found with an accusative of the person. Possibly it may stand in the sense of 'having formed a suspicion', *τινάς* being governed by *ξυνέλαβον* and then resolved into *τοὺς μὲν...οἱ δέ*: cf. ch. 54, 16.

8. **αὖθις**—the best manuscripts have *αὖτις*, which is also found in some manuscripts in ch. 8, 18, and ch. 43, 18. Lid. and Scott call it a form erroneously introduced into Attic authors.

ib. **καθ' ἕτερόν τι**—apparently *καθ' ἕτερον* is governed directly by *εἷλον*, and is equivalent to a single word; as in iv. 3, 2, *ἐμπρήσαντός τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης*: so ii. 76, 4, *ἐπὶ μέγα κατέσεισε*: see note on iv. 3, 2. Otherwise *περιτειχίσματος* may be regarded as a partitive genitive, 'took a part of the Athenian lines of attack'. Classen takes *καθ' ἕτερον* separately, governing the genitive by *τι*, but, as Poppo says, 'separari posse non videntur'. He suggests that *καθ'* should perhaps be altered into *καί*. The instances quoted are however sufficient to support the view first given.

11. **ὡς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο**—these words, if genuine, must mean, 'as these things happened', i.e. as the Athenians found themselves assailed in turn by the enemy. To give the meaning 'after this happened', which we should rather expect, *ἐγένετο* would be needed. Poppo brackets the whole clause as weak and awkwardly inserted between *ἄλλης* and *ἧς*: and he is followed by Classen.

12. **καὶ...πολιορκούμενοι**—cf. i. 65, 1, *ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς ...καὶ ἔχων*, where Poppo gives several instances, e.g. iv. 29, 1, of the genitive absolute thus joined with participles in the nominative.

14. **ὥστε**—of conditions; ch. 17. 14. **βουλεῦσαι**—'decide'; the usual force of the aorist.

17. **ᾤκησαν**—'settled in'; ch. 1, 10. The reading of the best manuscripts however is **ᾤκισαν**, which is adopted by Poppo and Classen; cf. i. 98, 1. Either word makes good sense, *οἰκίζω* being 'to settle', i.e. to people with settlers; and the aorists are naturally liable to confusion. In the middle voice the forms of *οἰκίζω* are to be preferred (e.g. vi. 1, 2), as the use of *οἰκεῖσθαι* middle is doubtful.

APPENDIX

Ch. cxi. 30.

ἣν μιᾶς πέρι καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν ἔσται—the suggestion in the body of the notes, to omit **ἣν** and **ἔσται** (and perhaps also the first **περί**, before *πατρίδος*), makes it possible to construe this clause, in accordance with the obvious sense, and with the scholiast's explanation, *καὶ πολλάκις πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λάβετε ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος ἡ σκέψις, μιᾶς οὔσης, περὶ ἧς ἐν μιᾷ βουλῇ ἢ κατορθώσετε ἢ σφαλήσεσθε*. It is however not quite satisfactory, especially as regards the concluding words. One feels that *τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ* ought to go together, sc. *μὴ τυχοῦσαν*, and that *κατορθώσασαν* should be separately accounted for.

Taking this view, Mr E. S. Thompson, of Christ's College, Cambridge, proposes a restoration of the passage which is decidedly attractive (*Classical Review*, Vol. iii. p. 72). He would read *καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε πολλάκις ὅτι πατρίδος βουλεύεσθε μιᾶς πέρι, ἣν καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθῶσαι ἔνεσται*, 'and that this (fatherland), standing to win or lose on the event of only one debate, it will be in your power to establish in security'. Mr Thompson makes *τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μή* refer to *ἣν* (*πατρίδα*). Would not the words go better with *βουλήν*, 'according as your debate succeeds or fails'? That an infinitive is to be sought in *κατορθώσασαν* seems highly probable: but I am in doubt about *κατορθῶσαι πατρίδα*. There is no parallel to it in Thucydides, who generally uses *κατορθοῦν* in the sense of 'succeeding', *βουλήν* or the like being implied. *πατρίδα* then may be the *subject*, not the object of *κατορθῶσαι*.

The following are some of the explanations which have been given of the passage. The list is by no means exhaustive, but is meant to indicate the main lines of solution which authorities have taken.

A. Retaining **ἣν** and **ἔσται**, (1) Professor Jowett thinks the manuscript reading probably genuine. He supplies *βουλεύεσθαι* from *βουλεύεσθε*, taking *ἔσται* to mean 'will be possible'. The

city, he says, is considered, first, as that which deliberates; secondly, as the subject of deliberation: μιᾶς πέρι being written by confusion instead of ἣν μίαν (οὖσαν)......ἔσται (βουλεύεσθαι). ἐς μίαν βουλὴν may follow either βουλεύεσθαι or τυχοῦσάν τε κ.τ.λ., the latter words referring to πατρίδα. (2) With the same general view, τυχοῦσάν τε κ.τ.λ. may be referred to βουλήν.

B. Reading **ἧς** instead of **ἥν**, the clause = ἧς πέρι μιᾶς (οὔσης)...(βουλεύεσθαι) ἔσται. We thus get the meaning 'and that you will have the opportunity of deliberating (or, will have to decide) concerning your only country, and that too in one deliberation, whether successful or not'.

This is not altogether unsatisfactory, but there is a harshness in supplying βουλεύεσθαι or βουλεύσασθαι, and ἔσται stands very awkwardly by itself. It would be better to take ἧς πέρι... ἔσται to mean 'whose fate will be decided', lit. 'about which (the question) will be': cf. iv. 63, 2, οὐ περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαί τινα, sc. ὁ λόγος ἔσται: Dem. *Androt.* 607, § 46, οὐ περὶ πράξεως εἰσφορῶν ἐστίν: id. *Timocr.* 701, § 5, περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστί: ib. 733, § 105 (in a law), ὅταν περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος ᾖ. There seems much in favour of this explanation.

C. Reading **ἴστε** instead of **ἔσται**, it has been proposed to refer **ἥν** (1) to πατρίδα, (2) to βουλήν supplied from βουλεύεσθε. The rendering is (1) 'whose success you know (ἣν κατορθώσασαν ἴστε) concerns your one only country, and depends on one deliberation, according as it succeeds or fails': (2) 'which deliberation you know whether it succeeds or fails (ἣν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν ἴστε) relates to your only country and must be determined in one debate'.

These explanations may be varied by different arrangements of the accusative participles. They are in any case open to the objection that we should expect those participles to be future rather than aorist. Besides this, the double use required in (1) of πατρίδα, and in (2) of βουλήν, involves intolerable harshness.

D. Suggested alterations:

a. for ἔσται read ἔσεσθαι, the infinitive in the relative clause being dependent on ἐνθυμεῖσθε. There is a confusion between ἥν...ἔσεσθαι and ᾗ...ἔσται. ἣν may be referred to πατρίδα or βουλήν and the rest of the clause variously modified. *b.* read ἣν (sc. βουλήν or πατρίδα)...ἵστατε or ἕξετε. *c.* ᾗ μιᾶς ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς...ἵσταται. *d.* ἣν ὑμᾶς περιποιῆσαι...ἔσται.

INDEX I

The figures denote the chapters and lines, which are referred to in the notes.

INDEX II

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